

**To Be, Or Not to Be...German, Russian, or Ethnic German:
Ethnic Self-Labeling Among
Adolescent Ethnic German Immigrants**

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1. Introduction

Larissa is 16. That she immigrated as a German and is now treated as a Russian tears her apart. 'I do not know who I am,' she says, 'I am somehow in between.' Her passport tells her she is German, but when she speaks of Germans, she talks about another people. These are the children of the collapsed Soviet Union. It is the generation of the "Zu-spät-Ausgesiedelten" (too-late-immigrated).

Kaiser, 2000.¹

In 2002, the year of the data collection for this dissertation, about 9400 ethnic German adolescents from states of the former Soviet Union resettled in the Federal Republic of Germany (Federal Bureau of Administration, Bundesverwaltungsamt). Ethnic Germans are Germans in the legal sense. They have lived as German minorities in eastern European countries, sometimes for generations.

As the Soviet Union collapsed, they [adolescent ethnic Germans] and their parents got on trains and airplanes towards the West. They arrived to the new country in their best age. And maybe their worst. Young enough to change and navigate through the new world. Old enough to decline participation and cling to the old world in pain. They came with the most valuable admission ticket, the passport, which guaranteed them all rights and claimed: You belong to us. Nonetheless, children of ethnic Germans remain alien in their own fatherland. Their hope to be German amongst Germans has been abandoned. They have come to terms with the country that issued them a passport and in return, demanded their identity (Kaiser, 2000).

Immigration and coming into contact with a new culture is demanding for any immigrant. Experiencing immigration in the teenage years poses an additional challenge: Adolescence is a time of turmoil, a time in which one of the major tasks is to figure out "who am I" and "who do I want to be." In addition to this normative "identity crisis" (Erikson, 1968), immigrant adolescents need to work out their place and identity in a new and unfamiliar culture, under new circumstances, and often with family members that feel as displaced as they do.

¹ All quotes from German newspapers and by German participants were translated by the author. No page numbers are given here, as these are newspaper articles that can be found over the Internet (www.zeit.de).

Ethnic German immigrant adolescents face a unique situation in terms of their identity, which may be regarded as either a burden or an asset. As mentioned above, they receive German citizenship upon entry, and are from then on formally and legally German. In the public eye, however, they often remain the “Russians” and are viewed as immigrants that came for economic reasons rather than as fellow citizens returning home (Dietz & Roll, 1998; Schmitt-Rodermund, 1997). Moreover, there seems to have been a shift among the ethnic German immigrants immigrating now and those that arrived earlier, as well as in the local German viewpoint of these returnees (Strobl & Kühnel, 2000). The 1980s in retrospect seem like paradise:

It was a generation that arrived 10, 20 years ago, took up any work, made money fast, built houses, and basically integrated. The “new” ethnic German immigrants, the ones that immigrated in the late 1990s (and later), speak hardly any German. They have little or no attachment to Germany, their old fatherland, which their ancestors left more than 200 years ago to reclaim land for Katharina the Great. These “new” immigrants are Russian or Ukrainian spouses that have no German roots. They are children that grew up in Kazakhstan, felt at home there, and do not know why their parents call Germany their home (Kahlweit, 2003, p. 10)².

Local Germans, on the other hand, feel that there are too many of the “new Russians” around, “those that wear sweat suits and are drunk already in the morning. There are too few of the ‘old Russians,’ the ‘clean and neat ones that didn’t show where they came from’ as one pharmacist exclaims” (Kahlweit, 2003, p. 10).

The adolescents that are the focus of this dissertation are ones like Larissa, the “too-late-immigrated.” On the one hand, the economic situation in Germany worsened during the 1990s (until today), meaning immigrants were less welcomed and less well provided for concerning social benefits. On the other hand, this generation is “less German” than the ones that immigrated in the 1980s, for example concerning German language proficiency, mononational parents, and proximity to the German culture and traditions (Dietz, 2003). All in all, adolescent ethnic Germans, born in another country and often with binational parents (e.g., one ethnic German, one Russian), may regard themselves as German, Russian, or ethnic German, the latter

² It should be noted that in the 1980s, mostly ethnic Germans from Poland arrived to Germany while today, this number has shifted in favor of ethnic Germans stemming from former Soviet Union states. It cannot be ruled out that the difference in origin accounts for differences between the ethnic German groups in terms of willingness to integrate. However, as this quote shows, this does not reflect the public opinion, where the talk is of “Russians.”

of which is the politically ascribed term; their ticket for entry into the country. This leads to the first main research question of this dissertation: How do adolescent ethnic German immigrants see themselves in terms of these labels? Psychology has specific names for the first two of these categories. National identity refers to the country immigrants now live in (e.g., Germany). Ethnic identity reflects one's membership to an ethnic group (e.g., Russian, ethnic German). As they can view themselves as any of the three³, as well as their combination, we will speak of ethnic self-labels throughout this dissertation when referring to these categories and their combinations.

It seems that some adolescents, like Larissa, do not know who they are, and feel torn between Russia and Germany. Others, like the twenty-year old Wadim, explain how difficult it can be to assimilate, even if such a wish exists:

When I came here, I thought I have to become so very German that nobody would realize where I actually originate from. But then you come home, speak Russian with your parents, and see your mother cry because she thinks she will never feel at home in this new environment (Marguier, 2005, p. 51).

So how are ethnic self-labels formed, which variables are related to the way adolescent ethnic German immigrants regard themselves? This is the second main question to be answered in this dissertation.

Identity matters, for example in terms of well-being- as the teenager named Larissa expressed so strongly. It was found that many immigrant adolescents actually perform better than commonly expected (Fuligni, 1998), even though there is a widespread view of adolescent immigrants having problems adapting to their new environment. Adolescent ethnic German immigrants, for example, are often thought to be more delinquent than local Germans, and a public fear of the "Russian mafia" remains despite mixed and controversial evidence of the actual crime rates in this group (Strobl & Kühnel, 2000). One factor that has been related to so-called acculturative outcomes is identity. "The real problem is the loss of roots. In Russia attacked as German and Fascist, in Germany stigmatized as uncivilized- others have searched for refuge in intoxication for lesser reasons" (Marguier, 2005, p. 51).

So who are the deviant ones among these immigrants, and why do they have problems? Could it be that they feel alienated in Germany, forming what Heitmeyer terms a parallel society (1997)? All children and adolescents face problems of identity, but immigrant children more so (Miller, 1995)- and ethnic German immigrants probably most so. The final main research

³ German, Russian, ethnic German.

question for this dissertation is thus: Are these ethnic self-labels related to acculturative outcomes? Of special interest in this particular group is delinquent behavior, as being thought of as criminal is one of the major public prejudices adolescent ethnic Germans have to face. Additionally, depressive symptoms have been identified as a common mental health problem for immigrants (Berry, 1997; Berry & Sam, 1997). It seems as if teenagers like Larissa are unhappy with their new situation, so a second focus lies on depressive symptoms as another outcome of the immigration experience.

Chapter 2 of this dissertation will provide the theoretical background for the answers to the main research questions. First, an overview of the situation of ethnic German immigrants is given, followed second by theories and models on ethnic categories and ethnic self-labels. The foundation for this research lies in Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), Self-Categorization Theory (Turner, 1985; 1987), ethnic identity research (Phinney, e.g., 1990), Berry's model of acculturation orientations (e.g., 2003), and, to a lesser extent, on Esser's acculturation process model (1980). Third, the formation of ethnic self-labels is described, based on above theories and models. And finally, consequences of ethnic self-labels, more specifically the relationship between ethnic self-labels and depressive symptoms, as well as between ethnic self-labels and delinquent behavior, is discussed. In chapter 3, the specific hypotheses for each of the three main research questions presented above are stated. Chapter 4 describes the methods used and the validation of ethnic self-labels against acculturation orientations; chapter 5 presents the results. Finally, chapter 6 discusses findings and their implications. The overall aim of the dissertation is to offer a better understanding of the contributors to and the consequences of ethnic self-labeling, which may then provide implications for important interventions.

In November, 2005, shortly before the completion of this dissertation, a number from Kazakhstan reached Germany: In the past year, 900 ethnic Germans had returned from Germany back to Kazakhstan. Being the "Germans" in Kazakhstan and remaining the "Russians" in Germany, they returned to a country with a modestly thriving economy, where a familiar language is spoken, and where old friends live. Their immigration to Germany has failed (mdr info radio, November 5th, 2005, 9:50 a.m.). Simultaneously, as the last sentences are being written, riots in immigrant populated suburbs in France have caused a first casualty. The topic of immigration and integration is as up-to-date and pressing as ever.

2. Theoretical Background

Identity is regarded as “a person’s essential, continuous self, the internal, subjective concept of oneself as an individual” (Reber, 1985, p. 341). The development of an identity, as claimed by Erikson (1968), is one of the major issues of human life. Adult relationships, for example, can in his opinion be formed only if a clear sense of identity has been achieved during adolescence (Durkin, 1995). There is reason to believe that identity search is an important task for children and adolescents, and even more so for immigrant adolescents (Miller, 1995).

When looking at young ethnic German immigrants, identity issues are especially interesting. First, all adolescent ethnic Germans of the first generation may regard themselves as *multicultural*. Due to immigration, they have been in contact with at least two cultures: Their country of birth (e.g., Russia), and the country they now reside in (Germany). Second, many may be *multiethnic* by birth, due to mixed marriages of their parents (e.g., an ethnic German mother and a Russian father). Immigration to Germany is considered a “return” to the home country, as ethnic Germans are Germans in the legal sense and (in most cases) receive German citizenship. However, first generation adolescent ethnic Germans, born outside of Germany, often have not been to Germany prior to immigration, rarely have sufficient command over the German language, and commonly know little of the country beforehand. Do these returnees really regard themselves as Germans, which they legally are? Or are they closer connected to their country of birth and consider themselves Russian, for example? The political term for ethnic Germans is “Aussiedler.” They may identify with this label, just as they may with any combination of German, Russian, and ethnic German (“Aussiedler”). This curious fact leads to two main research questions to be dealt with in this dissertation:

One, which variables are related to how a young ethnic German immigrant considers him- or herself? Factors linked to the choice of ethnic self-labels have rarely been investigated (Phinney & Alipuria, 1996). However, several contexts have been identified as relevant sources for the formation of identity and may also be of importance for ethnic self-labeling. These contexts are culture, peers, family, society, school, and work (Smith, Stewart, & Winter, 2004).

Two, it has been suggested that identification labels have important implications for children’s adjustment (Fuligni, 1998). In other immigrant groups, ethnic identity (of which self-labels are a part) has been related to sociocultural and psychological acculturative outcomes such as well-being, anxiety, or good relations with family and peers (e.g., Yip & Fuligni, 2002; Phinney, 2003; Kvernmo & Heyerdahl, 2003). How are ethnic self-labels related to adaptation?

The study of ethnic self-labeling is of particular interest among young ethnic German immigrants. This is due to their multicultural and multiethnic background and also to their history and current situation as immigrants. Before turning to the theory of ethnic self-labels, their

formation and relationship to adaptation, more general information about ethnic Germans is given in the next section to provide the necessary background for above research questions. To illustrate some of the aspects that will be described, some quotes from interviews conducted in the course of this dissertation with eight adolescents are cited. These interviews are not part of the actual study. They can be found fully transcribed in Appendix 9.6, which also includes the participants' demographics, as well as information on the interview procedure.

2.1 Adolescent Ethnic German Immigrants: History and Present Situation

Immigrants are persons who come to a country they were not born in for the purpose of permanent residency. Since different countries keep different (or no) standards of migration statistics, the number of immigrants worldwide is difficult, if not impossible, to determine. In Germany, official policies are only slowly beginning to accept its status as an immigration country⁴. Previously, the traditional view was that “non-German blood immigrants recruited as “guest workers” (*Gastarbeiter*), such as Turks and their descendants, have tenuous claim to full citizenship and are denied the right to vote in regional and national elections” (Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, & Senécal, 1997, p. 375). Since January, 2001, a new nationality right (“Staatsangehörigkeitsrecht”) regulates naturalization. Entitled to German citizenship are persons who a) have lived legally in Germany for at least eight years; b) hold a valid residence permit; c) pledge to respect the free and democratic values of the Basic Constitutional Law of the Federal Republic of Germany; d) have not violated the Basic Constitutional Law; e) do not claim unemployment or social benefits for either themselves or a relative; f) have not been found guilty of a serious crime; g) have satisfactory language competencies; and h) give up their former citizenship (exceptions are made). The rules are slightly different for children, especially for those under the age of ten (Bundesministerium des Inneren, 1999).

For historical and political reasons, ethnic German immigrants are exempt from these rules. Their political support has two main reasons. First, it was seen as an approval of the western values and system that people wanted to emigrate from eastern European states to (West-) Germany during the Cold War. Second, Germany felt responsible for German minorities in Eastern Europe (Dietz, 2004). This political support results in a significant difference between foreign immigrants, for example Turks, and ethnic German immigrants. In contrast to foreign

⁴ 7.3 million foreigners live in Germany, amounting to approximately 9% of the population. More than half have been living in Germany for ten years or more. Approximately 1.5 million foreign children under the age of 18 live in Germany, about one third of which were born here (Bundesministerium des Inneren, 2004).

immigrants, ethnic German immigrants receive German citizenship, take part in integration programs, and benefit from the social welfare system. Nonetheless, many local Germans do not distinguish between ethnic Germans and foreign asylum seekers (Silbereisen, Schmitt-Rodermund, & Lantermann, 1999). Nauck (2001) thus speaks of a “consensual fiction of no cultural distance” (p. 164), and Dietz (2003) claims that legal recognition as German often is in sharp contrast to the actual differences between Germans and ethnic Germans.

The legal status of ethnic Germans is specified in the “Bundesvertriebenengesetz,” a law regulating the rights of displaced persons. Resettlers, or ethnic German immigrants, are Germans in the legal sense of article 116 of the Basic Constitutional Law of the Federal Republic of Germany. Their legal status is based on their German ancestry and the maintenance of German cultural heritage (Nauck, 2001). A crucial date is the turn of the year 1992/1993. To be considered ethnic German, one must have left the evacuation areas (“Aussiedlungsgebiete”) by December 31st, 1992. Evacuation areas are former countries of the Soviet Union, Belarus, Czechia, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Poland, Romania, and Slovakia. Individuals that were born before January 1st, 1993, live in Germany since January 1st, 1993, and have received an absorption notice (§26 BVFG), obtain the legal status of an ethnic German. In contrast, ethnic Germans immigrating after January 1st, 1993, must individually prove suffering as Germans from pressures of displacement in their countries of origin. Ethnic Germans from former Soviet Union States, as well as Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, are exempt from this rule. For them, displacement and a continuity of the after-effect of war are presumed. They must not individually prove persecution (Strobl & Kühnel, 2000).

Children of ethnic Germans receive German citizenship upon entry, and spouses do if the marriage has existed for a minimum of three years in the country of origin. However, they are not considered ethnic Germans. Integration aid is granted nonetheless, for example language courses are paid for. The situation proves more complex for other non-ethnic German family members. Relatives age 29 and younger may receive credits for language courses. Others, for example the Russian mother-in-law, do not receive any aid. A difficult situation occurs also for adolescents and young adults immigrating to Germany without their parents or other family members. If they are of full age and not included in the absorption notice of their parents or grandparents, regulations for foreigners apply. This means they are in danger of losing (or not receiving) a residence permit (Strobl & Kühnel, 2000).

The legal status of ethnic Germans in Germany has historic reasons. Ethnic Germans are relatives of German minorities that settled in nearly all of eastern and southern European states

from medieval times until the 19th century. They were called to these countries as needed and welcomed workers and colonists. In their respective host countries, the Germans enjoyed guaranteed minority rights. They were able to retain their language and culture and keep their own educational institutions (Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2000).

In the middle of the 19th century, nationalist ideas evolved. Related to World War I, extensive restrictions emerged for the German minorities. Forced assimilation or repressions occurred. Many Germans left their homes and resettled in Germany. The situation improved temporarily following the Russian revolution in 1917, but worsened again under Stalin (Schmitt-Rodermund, 1999). In 1939, approximately 8.6 million Germans lived outside the German empire. At least nine million Germans lived in the then German provinces such as Silesia, Pomerania, or East Prussia. These areas were assigned to Poland after World War II. Since the German settlers were held accountable for the politics of the Nazis, they suffered from oppressions such as deportations, detentions, forced labor, disfranchisement, and discrimination. Cultural and educational institutions were closed, families separated. With the exception of Siebenbürgen (Transylvania) and Banat, no German settlements remained. It was therefore difficult to keep the German traditions alive. The German population beyond today's German eastern borders was reduced from 17.5 million (1939) to approximately four million in 1960 (Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2000).

The situation improved only slowly in the 1950s. The visit of German chancellor Konrad Adenauer to the Soviet Union in 1955 led to an accord allowing ethnic Germans to leave their settlements (Schmitt-Rodermund, 1999). Many ethnic Germans decided to resettle in Germany. The fall of the iron curtain and the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991 marked a turning point for the German minorities in the eastern states. As regulations were loosened, the number of ethnic Germans resettling in Germany rapidly increased from 78 498 in 1987 to 397 067 in 1990. As a result, Germany experienced absorption and housing problems, so that in 1990, steps were taken to regulate immigration numbers prior to arrival (Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2000). Financial problems in the communities and high unemployment rates additionally changed the local German's perception of ethnic German immigrants. In order to keep more ethnic Germans from immigrating back to Germany, the Federal Republic of Germany began improving the situation for ethnic Germans in the eastern states. Projects concerning housing, private enterprises, farming, and infrastructure are supported in the hope of raising the living conditions of ethnic Germans living abroad. Nonetheless, up to the mid 1990s, these measures did not prevent the constant increase in ethnic Germans wanting to re-immigrate. While until the mid 1980s ethnic Germans arrived mostly from Poland and Romania, this relation has since changed in favor of ethnic Germans from the former Soviet Union (Strobl & Kühnel, 2000).

Since 1993, more than 90% of all immigrating ethnic Germans stem from the former Soviet Union (Dietz, 2003), mostly from Russia, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan.

In some regions, ethnic Germans and Russians as minorities are under pressure by the majority. In the 1960s, for example, many Russians had been sent to industrial areas in northern Kazakhstan. Today, Kazakhs claim these positions. Russians and ethnic Germans alike are exposed to displacements and ethnic discrimination (Strobl & Kühnel, 2000). On the other hand, ethnic Germans are needed, for example in agriculture, so that officials in Kazakhstan wish them to stay (Dietz, 2004).

Since the 1990s, the family structures of ethnic Germans resettling in Germany have also changed. Compared to older generations, the feeling of belonging to a marginalized ethnic minority in the Eastern states has faded. Most ethnic Germans lived in ethnically mixed communities and had friends of different ethnic heritage. One study with adolescent ethnic Germans in Germany showed that only 6.3% had mainly ethnic German friends in their country of origin (Roll, 1997). Another indicator of the changes between the generations are language abilities and cultural knowledge. For many ethnic Germans, in school as well as in everyday activities, the Russian language plays a larger role than the traditional German. If German traditions are upheld at all, it is mostly by the generation of grandparents. Ethnic German youth in former Soviet Union countries orient themselves mainly on other adolescents, just like adolescents all over the world do (Strobl & Kühnel, 2000).

Immigration of ethnic Germans to Germany is not an infinite phenomenon. In some countries, for example Poland or Hungary, there is little pressure to migrate. Additionally, ethnic Germans from these countries must prove individual suffering as a consequence of their ethnicity to be granted German citizenship. Numbers of immigrants from other countries are also declining, due to improvement of the economic situation, mixed marriages, and increasing difficulty in successfully applying for the absorption notice. According to Schmitt-Rodermund (1999), however, some hundred thousand ethnic Germans are still expected to immigrate to Germany, though an exact estimate is difficult. The following section further describes ethnic German immigration to Germany; among others, the number of immigrants and matters such as language, education, and relationship with local Germans.

2.1.1 Ethnic Germans in Germany Today

Immigration of ethnic Germans to Germany went nearly unnoticed until the end of the 1980s. Up to this point, many ethnic Germans (mostly from Poland and Romania) had retained German culture and heritage, defined themselves as German, and spoke the German language. As will be described in section 2.2.4, ethnic identity is defined as the subjective sense of belonging to a

group or culture (Phinney, 1993). One can say that these people were ethnic Germans by legal, as well as by psychological definition.

As mentioned before, the break-up of the Soviet Union in the late 1980s led to a rapid increase in ethnic German immigrants. At about the same time, economic problems in Germany, such as high unemployment rates, aggravated the situation. As many ethnic Germans arriving were now strongly influenced by their countries of origin and had only rudimentary German language proficiency, public opinion towards ethnic German immigration changed (Strobl & Kühnel, 2000). While the integration of ethnic Germans had previously been considered rather unproblematic, ethnic Germans were now seen more as economic refugees than as returning countrymen.

Terms and conditions for immigration further changed after the 1990s. Immigrants now face economic hardship, unemployment, and financial problems in German communities. They are being viewed as rivals when it comes to jobs and housing (Strobl & Kühnel, 2000). If ethnic Germans find entry into the German labor market, it is now mainly in the low paid sector, where they again are in competition- this time mainly with other ethnic minorities (Strobl & Kühnel, 2000). Affordable housing has also become rare, which leads to longer waiting periods in emergency camps or in transition homes. Oftentimes, ethnic Germans are transferred to residential areas that were evacuated by allied forces in the beginning of the 1990s. This concentration of ethnic Germans especially in rural areas often leads to stigmatization (Strobl & Kühnel, 2000). In a study conducted in the years 1990-1992, ethnic German participation in the private housing sector was almost nonexistent (Fuchs, 1999). The author attributed this to the lower income of ethnic Germans, as well as to discrimination, poor language skills, poor knowledge of the housing market, and the absence of initiative on the part of the ethnic Germans themselves.

As the numbers of ethnic German immigrants increased and, simultaneously, the economic situation worsened, the law „Gesetz zur Bereinigung von Kriegsfolgen“ was passed. As of January 1st, 1993, every ethnic German has to individually prove continuity of the after-effect of war, with the exceptions made for some states as described above. Furthermore, the number of ethnic German immigrants was limited to 220 000 a year (Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2000). Since the summer of 1996, a German language test has to be passed in the country of origin. Two types of this test exist: A simple one that every applicant has to pass, and a more qualified one. If all family members pass the qualified test, their claim of ethnic German ethnicity will be handled more quickly. As many ethnic Germans in former Soviet Union states have only rudimentary language proficiency, this test often poses a great hurdle (Dietz, 2003).

Since the 1990s, language competencies and cultural adjustment of arriving ethnic Germans have lessened considerably (Dietz, 2004). As a result, integration into the local German neighborhood has decreased. On the other hand, participation in migrant networks has increased. Parallel to this, governmental integration measures were cut back. These developments foster further segregation (Dietz, 2004)⁵.

In this dissertation, special emphasis is given to the time period of 2002, as the data analyzed for this work was largely collected in this year. In most cases, ethnic Germans immigrate with their entire families to Germany. In 2002, 25% of immigrants coming with ethnic German status actually were ethnic Germans. The others were close (60%) or distant relatives (15%, Dietz, 2004). Ethnic Germans in Germany are a young population with many children and adolescents. Between 1990 and 1998, approximately 275.000 adolescent ethnic Germans aged 15-25 migrated to Germany, constituting about 14% of migrating ethnic Germans. In recent years, the number of binational (mostly German/Russian) families increased, and, accordingly, the number of adolescent ethnic Germans having just one ethnic German parent. Ethnic German adolescents now have a much more binational orientation than in the 1980s, which changes their integration situation significantly (Dietz, 2003). It might also make their formation of an ethnic self-label more complex (see section 2.3).

About a decade ago, adolescent ethnic German immigrants were regarded as a sometimes even overly assimilating group, wanting to adapt to their German peers as quickly as possible. At times, this conflicted with their families' societal norms and values, which were often regarded as traditionalistic by Germans. However, naturalization, a satisfactory economic and social climate, relatively generous integration aids in Germany, as well as the willingness of the ethnic Germans to integrate, prevented their emerging as a problematic group. According to Dietz (2003), this has changed in the meantime. More and more, "the group of disadvantaged, marginalized and deviant adolescents increasingly consists of young ethnic Germans" (p. 153, own translation).

What is the relationship between local and ethnic Germans today? Zick, Wagner, van Dick, and Petzel (2001) claim that local Germans generally expect ethnic minorities to assimilate or segregate, and only seldom to integrate. These attitudes reflect official German policies as a non-immigration country. Politicians and other members of the receiving society expect immigrants to assimilate to German practices and culture. If immigrants refuse assimilation, they

⁵ A new law regulating immigration to Germany was put into effect on January 1st, 2005. It will not be dealt with here, as it does not affect our sample: Data collection took place in 2002/ 2003.

are expected to live separately and then to leave the country. “The idea of a multicultural society is not prominent in German society and national politics” (Zick et al., 2001, p. 550).

Eckert, Reis, and Wetzstein (2003) state that social interaction is difficult. As one ethnic German adolescent put it: „They think that those who speak Russian are dumb“ (p. 200). In the same study, a local German adolescent stated that the immigrants had no interest in spending time with locals, and deliberately chose isolation and separation. Pressure on the relationship also comes from stronger competition for jobs. While grown-ups live more or less peacefully separated, adolescents are confused by the confrontation and strengthen their social identity through conflicts. The authors further claim that while local German adolescents freely talk about problems between themselves and ethnic Germans, ethnic Germans are more reluctant to admit to these conflicts.

Concordant with these findings, ethnic German adolescents from our own interview study generally reported good relations with Germans. Problems were mentioned only discreetly and reluctantly. Jelena, age 17, reported: „But sometimes, they [German friends] hold prejudices, if I greet an ethnic German on the street.” In general, adolescents reported fewer personal experiences with discrimination compared to the amount of discrimination they believe their respective group undergoes (“minimization-of-personal-discrimination effect”; Taylor, Wright, Moghaddam, & Lalonde, 1990). This phenomenon has been found in several minorities, for example among women, people of color, and aborigines (Taylor et al., 1990). Reasons for this behavior, however, have not yet been adequately identified. One possibility may be the reluctance of individuals to assume that they have no control over the evaluation of their competences. Thus, they attribute individual experiences to their own abilities, which they can change, rather than to discrimination.

Adolescents interviewed for this dissertation commented on their friendships. In line with the minimization-of-personal-discrimination effect, Alexander, age 17, admitted to difficulties when local and ethnic Germans meet, but only with rightwing adolescents. Only Linda, age 20, told several stories of discrimination that either happened to people she knew (a pregnant ethnic German woman having problems finding an apartment because of her ethnicity), to the group of ethnic Germans (denied entry to clubs or bars), or to herself at school (bad grading). “At least I can defend myself now, I speak German!” But she always concluded that she personally likes life in Germany where she gets along with local and ethnic Germans alike, and that she herself never had problems integrating.

To conclude: The immigration of ethnic Germans to Germany is special in the historical and legal context. Two cultures come in contact (= acculturation occurs, as described in section 2.2.7), but the minority culture (ethnic Germans) is supposedly similar to the majority (local

Germans). This, for example, is mirrored in the customs of official German population statistics, which in most cases do not differentiate between ethnic and local Germans. Ethnic Germans are Germans by definition, but cultural distance cannot be denied. This makes the immigration situation of ethnic Germans, and especially issues of identity such as ethnic self-labeling, an interesting topic in the field of acculturation.

2.2 Ethnic Categories and Ethnic Self-Labeling

Compared to local adolescents, young ethnic German immigrants have to deal with an additional aspect of their social identity: Their ethnic identity (Dietz & Roll, 1998). Most hold a German passport and have at least one parent of German ethnicity. Their background, however, often lies in countries of the former Soviet Union, for example due to being born there, having a Russian parent, or speaking the Russian language. Do adolescent ethnic German immigrants consider themselves German, Russian, ethnic German, or maybe a combination of the three? Dealing with these three categories is part of their daily lives. Expectancies and demands come from multiple sources such as parents, teachers, public authorities, and peers (Roll, 2003). So while coming to terms with one's identity is an important task for all minority adolescents, the categories German, Russian, and ethnic German are added in the case of ethnic German immigrants.

In this section, these categories are first incorporated into relevant lines of research, namely identity theories and one model of acculturation. Theories and research concerning multiple categorizations are described and linked to our research. In the final section, identity and acculturation theories are “melted” to describe the formation of ethnic self-labels in regard to adolescent ethnic German immigrants, which is presented in section 2.3.

2.2.1 Components of Identity

Identity research among adolescent immigrants typically focuses on three types or forms of identity: Ethnic, cultural, or social identity. Although conceptually distinct, the three types are closely, if somewhat complicatedly, related (see Figure 2.2). Before turning to the differentiation between these different types of identities, a commonality relevant to this dissertation shall first be described. This refers to all identities being theoretically composed of three components: A cognitive (knowledge that one belongs to a particular group, e.g. female, German, psychologist), an emotional (attachment to that category, also termed “affective”), and an evaluative (positive or

negative evaluation of the group) component (Ellemers, Kortekaas, & Ouwerkerk, 1999; Tajfel, 1981). They are shown in Figure 2.1.⁶

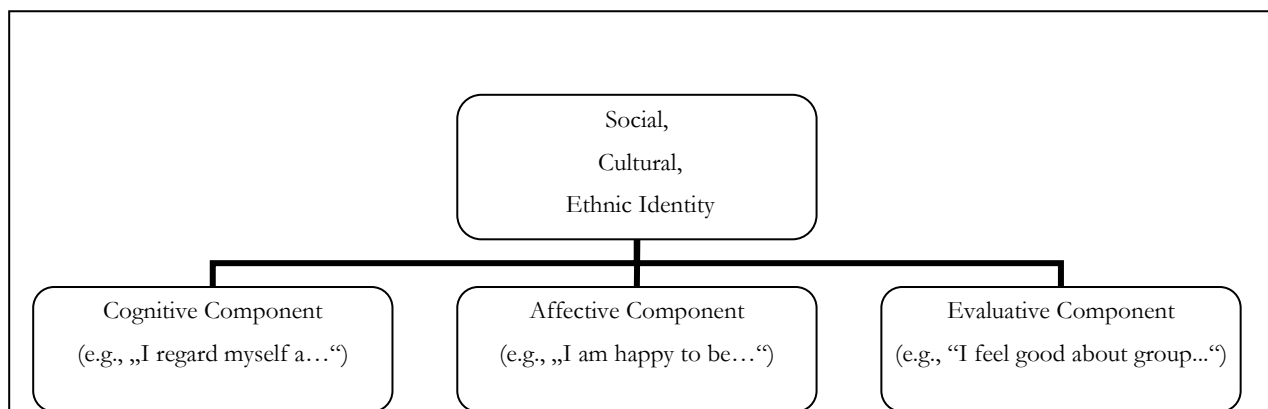


Figure 2.1. Components of identity.

The focus of this dissertation lies on the cognitive component of adolescent ethnic German's identity. This cognitive component has been termed in various ways by different authors, with different names existing for the same construct or, confusingly, the same names being used for different constructs. In ethnic identity research, for example, the cognitive component has been named “ethnic self-identification,” “self-label,” or “ethnic categorization” (Bradby, 2003; Roll, 2003).

2.2.2.1 Excursus: “Labels” in Psychological Research

“Ethnic self-identifications” or “self-labels” can again be distinguished into different types. National label refers to country of origin, for example Russian. The label new country is linked to the country of residence and in our case is German. Compound label means a combination of the old and the new country, for example Russian German or Mexican American. These labels refer to multiculturalism, for example among immigrant populations.

Other labels exist for multiethnic individuals. Panethnic labels describe cultural formations in which people of different national backgrounds have mixed. An example for a panethnic label is Canadian American. Multiethnic labels, such as Black Japanese, include more than one racial group (Phinney, 2003).

As can be inferred from this short excursus, variations and names for these variations are manifold and somewhat confusing. Additionally, it can in certain cases be difficult to distinguish between these different kinds of labels. For example, “Mexican American” may be seen as a

⁶ In most research, a developmental aspect is added to ethnic identity.

compound label if “Mexican” refers to a nationality. However, it may also be regarded as a panethnic label if “Mexican” is referred to as an ethnicity. Further, individuals may have mixed heritage in terms of original countries and ethnicities, which further complicate their labeling. It remains to be seen how important an unambiguous classification of labels really is for the concerned individual as well as the researcher.

In research among ethnic German immigrants, the terms used are “self-categorization” (Zick & Six, 1999) and even “ethnic identity” (Dietz & Roll, 1998; Roll, 2003). In this study, “category” refers to the terms German, Russian, and ethnic German. “Ethnic self-label” describes the ethnic category or any of their combinations an adolescent ascribes him- or herself to (Table 2.1).

“Self-label” indicates that the category is chosen by the subjects themselves (and not imposed upon them by the researchers), whereas “ethnic” is in line with the tradition of research among this particular group of immigrants⁷. Ethnic self-labels can be seen as the most obvious and straightforward aspect of ethnic identity (Phinney, 1992). While the label does carry meaning with it (Buriel, 1993; Larkey, Hecht, & Martin, 1993), it should not be conceptually confused with, for example, ethnic identity, which reflects “variation in strength, valence, or understanding of one’s ethnicity” (Phinney, 1992, p. 66).

Table 2.1

(Multiple) Ethnic Self-Labels Constructed on the Answers Given to the Question “I regard myself as...”

Categories Accepted	German	yes	no	no	yes	yes	no	yes	no
	Russian	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	yes	no
	Ethnic German	no	no	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	no
	G	R	E	GR	GE	RE	GRE	N	
Ethnic Self-Label (based on category acceptance) ⁸									

The variable measuring ethnic self-label in our study stems from a social identity scale by Doosje, Ellemers, and Spears (1995). This scale was originally developed to measure Dutch students’ identification with the category “psychology student” (Haslam, 2001). The item adapted

⁷ Although it would be more accurate to call the categories and their combinations “cultural self-label,” we will remain in the tradition of research concerning the particular sample of ethnic German immigrants. Here, the term “ethnic” is widespread.

⁸ Abbreviations for ethnic self-labels are as follows: German (G), Russian (R), ethnic German (E), German-Russian (GR), German-ethnic German (GE), Russian-ethnic German (RE), German-Russian-ethnic German (GRE), and None (N).

for this study is the cognitive component “I regard myself as a...” with the possible answers German, Russian, and ethnic German. The following section will explain these categories within the framework of the social identity approach.

To summarize: The cognitive component of identity in this dissertation is measured as the German, Russian, and ethnic German category. These categories can be combined (e.g., “German-Russian”) and are then referred to as multiple ethnic self-labels. When they are not combined (e.g., “German”), they are termed single ethnic self-labels. Overall, the combination of the three categories leads to eight distinctive ethnic self-labels (Table 2.1).

2.2.2 Social Identity Theory and Self-Categorization Theory

Social Identity Theory (SIT, Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and the Self-Categorization Theory (SCT, Turner, 1985, 1987) are basic theories for the understanding of social identity and its implications. The theoretical background for research with ethnic self-labels lies not only in the field of social identity, but also in the related concepts of ethnic, and cultural identity. This section defines social identity and illustrates the theory, leading to the determination of group memberships according to SIT. In section 2.2.4, ethnic and cultural identity are defined and their relationship to social identity described in order to allocate ethnic self-labels to the existing concepts.

Social identity is “that part of an individual’s self concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership in a social group (or groups), together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership” (Tajfel, 1978, p. 63). According to Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), awareness of group membership and a need for positive self-evaluation cause comparisons among group members. These comparisons, in turn, lead to attitudes and behaviors aimed at raising self-evaluation, for example through devaluation of out-group members. Put simply, Social Identity Theory attempts to explain and predict individual behavior based on group membership, thus focusing on intergroup relations.

It is commonly accepted that social identity is composed of three components (Figure 2.1), namely a cognitive component (awareness of one’s membership in a social group, termed “self-categorization”), an evaluative component (value attached to this membership, termed “group self-esteem”), and an emotional component (sense of emotional involvement with this group, termed “affective commitment”). Nonetheless, social identification is primarily referred to as a feeling of affective commitment to a group (Ellemers et al., 1999). The emotional component is more focused on than the cognitive or evaluative component. Although the distinction between the cognitive awareness of one’s group membership and the emotional attachment to

this group is possible, the components are closely related. Relating to adolescent ethnic German immigrants, it seems difficult to imagine that labeling oneself as, for example, “Russian” goes without any emotional attachment to this group.

The cognitive component of social identity, namely categorization, is of relevance for this dissertation. Categorization is the process through which stimuli are perceived in groups or categories instead of each stimulus separately (Sears, 1988). Classifying the world into a manageable amount of categories helps understand and make sense of it (Brown, 1995). Examples for categories individuals are often placed in are ethnicity, race, religion, gender, age, and profession (Leyens & Dardenne, 1996). These group memberships are an important part of the self-concept and can affect the way individuals think and feel about themselves and others (Simon, Hastedt & Aufderheide, 1997). The Self-Categorization Theory (Turner, 1985, 1987) “posits that in addition to categorizing others, individuals are consciously and actively involved in categorizing themselves” (Suleiman, 2002, p. 37). According to this theory, social identity is derived from an awareness of multiple memberships in relevant sub-categories. For example, being German and female is a “crossed category” (Deschamps & Doise, 1978). The self-categorization of minority members such as ethnic German immigrants poses an interesting case for Social Identity Theory and the Self-Categorization Theory. This is because the mere categorization of minority members is complicated by the fact that they belong simultaneously to two or even more categories *on one dimension*: Their ethnic group, and the culture to which they belong as citizens.

How does Social Identity Theory predict attitudes and behaviors? Every human being is part of social groups. These group memberships contribute to the sense of self (Tajfel, 1978). Every human being also has a need for positive self-evaluation. Self-evaluation, in turn, is based on comparison with others (Theory of Social Comparison Processes, Festinger, 1954). This comparison with others can be made with members of a different group (out-group) or with members of one’s own group (in-group). Positive self-evaluation is given when the in-group is rated higher as the out-group. Differentiating between the in- and the out-group in such a way that the in-group is favored and the out-group devalued is referred to as “positive distinctiveness.” In sum, the basic thoughts of Social Identity Theory are: (1) Individuals strive for a positive social identity; and (2) Positive social identity comes through comparisons with relevant out-groups; the in-group has to be perceived as different and better than the out-group (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Turning to adolescent ethnic German immigrants and the three categories which they may identify with: How can the in-group and the out-group be defined?

2.2.3 Determination of Group Membership According to Social Identity Theory

Social Identity Theory neatly divides individuals into members of predefined in- or out-groups based on criteria such as gender, ethnicity, profession, or even body piercing. In this line of research, study participants are usually asked if and to what extent they identify with a category given by the researcher. Then, attitudes or behaviors (for example) towards members of a given out-group (e.g., the opposite sex) are measured.

Accordingly, to make use of the social identity concept in the case of adolescent ethnic Germans in Germany, it is necessary to first define their group membership. As thoroughly described in the beginning of this chapter, ethnic Germans are Germans in the legal sense. Their ancestors immigrated to eastern European countries, sometimes generations ago, where they kept their (German) minority status. Now, they immigrate back to Germany, their home country. It is a home country the children know little if anything about before their arrival. Legally, they are Germans, while in reality, they were born in another country, often learned another language first, and sometimes have parents of mixed heritage. Theoretically, all three categories (German, Russian, and ethnic German) could thus be seen as describing the in-group. To define an in- and an out-group, the context Germany has to be taken into account (see section 2.1).

In Germany, ethnic German immigrants hold a special status and are often seen as foreigners by the Germans. Many local Germans do not know the distinction between Russians and ethnic Germans, for example. This is described by Linda, age 20, in our interview study. “Some label you as a foreigner because they do not know I am ethnic German.” On the other hand, adolescent ethnic Germans know they are Germans in the legal sense, but make a distinction between themselves and “real” Germans, those that were born and raised in Germany. Adolescents in our interview study claimed to be able to distinguish between ethnic and local Germans, for example on the basis of clothes, make-up, or gestures. Jelena, age 17, calls ethnic Germans “not real German” and speaks of a “foreigner-behavior” they show.

Just as adolescent ethnic German immigrants do themselves, it is sensible to distinguish local from ethnic Germans for the definition of group membership. Still, the question remains: Which is the in-, and which is the out-group? According to Dietz and Roll (1998), adolescent ethnic Germans and their parents were tightly connected to their country of origin, mostly with the Russian culture (even if having lived in another state of the former Soviet Union, the social environment was mostly Russian dominated). That local Germans are regarded as the out-group by adolescent ethnic German immigrants is described quite nicely by Viktor, age 17: “I hold the German citizenship and live here, but I am Russian. What counts for me is where I was born and where I come from, and I know on paper I belong, but that’s not enough.” For this dissertation,

local Germans are thus defined as the out-group. To ensure that this definition is valid for the entire sample studied, only adolescents born outside of Germany were included (see section 4.1).

The quote by Viktor above, as well as the citation of Dietz and Roll (1998), show that Russia refers to the culture of origin, and that Russian people are regarded as the in-group. This seems suitable even if the adolescents stem from various countries of the former Soviet Union: Other researchers as well use the term “Russian” to refer to the “culture common to all émigrés from the former Soviet Union” (Birman & Trickett, 2001, p. 463). The adolescents interviewed for this study stated similar feelings: Dimitri, age 16, was born and raised in the Ukraine before arriving to Germany. “I lived in the Ukraine, but I always say Russia, because... it’s a habit.” It thus is sensible to use “Russia” as a general term referring to the ethnic culture. Whether this holds true for the sample studied in this dissertation is statistically checked in section 4.3.1.

Referring to a shared historical, cultural, and political background and not necessarily a nationality, the ethnic German category is difficult to integrate in the concept of in- and out-group. As stated above, however, it is an important category for ethnic German immigrants (Roll, 2003). Jelena, age 17 and interviewed for this dissertation, makes the claim that Russian and ethnic German is the same to her: “I am from Russia and that’s, that is also ethnic German. Well, for me, yes, for me it’s all the same.” As we have defined Russian as the in-group, ethnic German is framed as referring to the in-group, as well.

In sum: Russian and ethnic German are terms that apparently are used interchangeably, though they refer to two distinct groups. They are clearly distinguished from the German category. In social identity terms, Russian and ethnic German refer to the in-group, whereas local Germans for this dissertation are defined as the out-group.

2.2.4 Ethnic, Cultural, and Social Identity

In addition to social identity, there are two other types of identity that are relevant to the research on ethnic self-labels, namely ethnic and cultural identity. How they are defined and how they are related to each other and to social identity is discussed in this section. This then leads to the question how the three categories German, Russian, and ethnic German are defined in terms of group memberships in these lines of research.

One prominent definition of ethnic identity comes from the American researcher Jean Phinney. She regards ethnic identity as “a dynamic, multidimensional construct that refers to one’s identity or sense of self as a member of an ethnic group” (2003, p. 63). By ethnic group, Phinney refers to individuals sharing at least one of the following elements: Culture, phenotype, religion, language, kinship, or place of origin. Others have included a common history or

interaction leading to self-identification as member of a particular ethnic group (Smith, 1991). Social psychology literature commonly treats ethnic identity as being similar to any other social identity (Liebkind, 1989). Ethnic German immigrants can be defined as an ethnic group, as culture and origin are shared and further, political considerations define them as such.

An overview of the ethnic identity literature by Phinney (1990) has shown that great inconsistencies exist in the meaning and operationalization of ethnic identity. While some authors emphasize the self-label, others mean attitudes towards the group, and still others measure ethnic identity through variables such as language, behavior, norms, and relations to other groups (Schönpflug, 2005). Recently, however, much research on ethnic identity has relied on the “Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure” (MEIM), which was developed by Phinney in 1992. It has displayed good psychometric properties in studies conducted with adolescents (Pegg & Plybon, 2005). Its general focus is on ethnic identity development⁹, emphasizing the way in which individuals become clear about the implications of their ethnicity (Phinney, 1993). An achieved ethnic identity as a result of a period of exploration, for example, is based on an individuals understanding and clarity about his or her ethnicity. In order to examine this, the MEIM is comprised of two factors, ethnic identity search (a developmental and cognitive component) and affirmation, belonging, and commitment (an affective component). Results of the MEIM point to the developmental stage of the ethnic identity, irrespective of the content (label) of this identity.

As shown in Figure 2.2, ethnic identity is closely related to social identity and to cultural identity (Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 2002). Concerning its relationship to the former, ethnic identity is considered to be the portion of one’s overall social identity that derives from one’s ethnic membership (Yip & Fuligni, 2002). Ethnic identity is composed of the same components (cognitive, affective, and evaluative) as social identity. In addition to being part of social identity, ethnic identity has also been described as one aspect of cultural identity.

Cultural identity refers to beliefs and attitudes people have about themselves concerning their cultural group membership. These usually become salient when contact with people from other cultures occur (Berry et al., 2002). Cultural identity is thought to have two aspects or dimensions about how one thinks about one self. One dimension is identification with one’s heritage or ethno-cultural group. This aspect of cultural identity has been named ethnic identity or heritage identity. The second dimension is identification with the larger or dominant society and has been called civic or national identity (Berry et al., 2002). The distinction made between

⁹ Also referred to as ethnic identity *formation*, which unfortunately is a little confusing as development and formation are two distinct concepts (see section 2.3).

ethnic and national identity has been applied in research on identification strategies (e.g., Smith et al., 2004). Ethnic and national identity among immigrants are assumed to be independent; that is, they could both be either high or low. Yes or no answers to two dimensions (here: Ethnic and national identity) result in four possible identification strategies in this line of research (see section 2.2.8).

The following study serves as an example of the relationship between ethnic, national, and cultural identity (Liebkind, Jasinskaja-Lahti, & Solheim, 2004). Ethnic and national identity were both measured in a sample of Vietnamese immigrants to Finland. The MEIM was adapted to measure both ethnic (heritage) and host (national) culture. This scale then included statements such as “I feel proud to be a Vietnamese” and “I feel that I am part of the Finnish culture” (p. 644). As a result, Liebkind and colleagues spoke of the combination of ethnic and new culture as cultural identity.

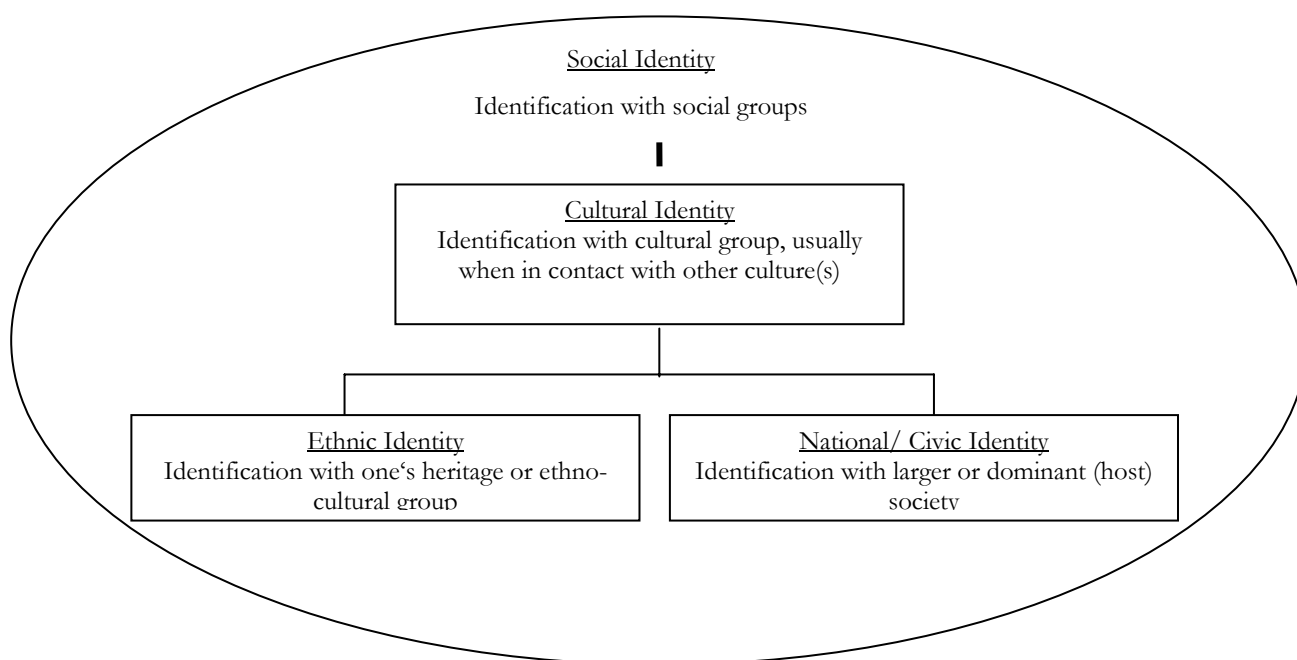


Figure 2.2. Social, cultural, and ethnic identity.

So how does the situation of ethnic Germans fit into these lines of research? As Roll (2003) noted, their situation as immigrants is more than cultural identification (with the heritage culture, e.g., Russia, and the new society, Germany), as it includes a political-administrative category, as well: That of the ethnic German. Thus, we have strived for two new approaches: First, by asking for all three categories (German, Russian, and ethnic German), we have combined the cognitive parts of ethnic and national identity and added ethnic German as a category specifically relevant for this sample. Second, we focus on the cognitive component (or category, or label). We call these categories and their combinations ethnic self-labels. Little

research has so far focused on ethnic self-labeling (e.g., Hall, 1992; Phinney & Alipuria, 1996; Roll, 2003), and, to our knowledge, no one has tried to explain its formation and linked it to acculturative outcomes in an ethnic German immigrant sample.

2.2.5 Determination of Group Membership According to Ethnic Identity Models

In ethnic identity research, the focus does not lie on the content of the identity (*how* an individual labels oneself). To illustrate this thought, the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM; Phinney, 1992) again serves as an example. It begins with the following item: “Please fill in: In terms of ethnic group, I consider myself to be...”. This is then referred to as “my ethnic group.” Analyses are independent of the ethnic group individuals identify with. In ethnic identity research, it is less important as *what* one considers oneself, but rather *how* one feels about this group membership (e.g., in terms of pride). The individuals themselves define their in-group, and the researchers are less interested in its content, but more in the stage of acceptance of being a member of this group. This dissertation aims at filling this gap by analyzing the importance of the content of identity (specific ethnic self-labels).

While Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) predicts attitudes and actions towards out-group members on the basis of in-group membership, ethnic identity research predicts consequences for the individual him- or herself based on this membership. Thus, Social Identity Theory is useful in the study of intergroup behavior, whereas ethnic identity research only makes sense when groups meet (=cultures come into contact), but is more focused on individual adaptation to this intergroup situation and less on the relationship between the two groups.

To make use of the ethnic identity approach in the case of adolescent ethnic German immigrants, the concept of cultural identity with the distinction between ethnic and national identity as suggested by Berry and colleagues (2002) is neither easily applicable nor sufficient. The concept of national or new culture is suitable and refers to Germany or, respectively, the German category. However, the heritage or ethnic culture is more difficult to define. Strictly speaking, it could refer to all three relevant categories, including German. In the present research, Russian and ethnic German refer to the heritage or ethnic (and German to the national) culture. This is in accordance with other studies on ethnic German immigrants, where “ethnic” refers to the Russian/ ethnic German heritage, as well (e.g., Nauck, 2001).

2.2.6 Multiple Categorizations

Most social psychological research about multiple categorizations has focused on simultaneous categorizations in terms of two different dimensions (e.g., nationality and gender, such as being German and female). Findings concerning multiple categorizations within one single dimension (e.g., being German and Russian or, as in the study mentioned earlier, Finnish and Vietnamese) are scarce. However, individuals can and often do claim more than one ethnic identity if they are multiethnic by birth (Alipuria, 2002). Multiple social categorizations also apply to immigrants, as their culture of origin differs from the culture in which they currently reside. They may identify to varying degrees with two (or more) cultures (Phinney & Alipuria, 1996) and are thus referred to as “multicultural.” Daniel (2002) argued that any minority group member not participating exclusively in the cultural life of the mainstream dominant group experiences both cultures. Thus, a single ethnic categorization or label may be inaccurate, as ethnic group members feel that they belong to two or more groups (Jasinkaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 1998).

The extent of multiple categorizations and its importance for the individual has only recently been recognized (Phinney & Alipuria, 1996). Whether it has positive or negative impacts, however, remains unclear. Being presented with „precepts“ from both the original heritage and the mainstream culture may lead to multiple and often conflicting scripts about the potential identity (Miller, 1995). However, integrating or otherwise managing two or more parts of one’s ethnic or cultural self may also be enriching (Phinney & Alipuria, 1996). In a study among eight different immigrant groups in the United States, for example, biculturalism protected from the likelihood of dropping out of school (Feliciano, 2001).¹⁰ One possible result may be to bond to various strengths with each identity (Suleiman, 2002), or to use different labels according to the situation (Phinney & Alipuria, 1996). What is generally agreed upon, however, is that

multicultural people label themselves in a variety of ways; they may claim membership in a single group, in two or more groups, or in a combined or alternative category. The choices they make in this regard, for example, the boxes that they chose on forms, have social and political implications, as well as indicating self-definition (Phinney & Alipuria, 1996, p. 4).

¹⁰ Educational achievement (to some extent the opposite of school drop-out) is often used to measure positive adaptation among immigrant adolescents (e.g., Miller, 1999; Ward, 1996; Ward & Kennedy, 1996).

The distinction between being multiethnic by birth (due to parents of different ethnicities) or multicultural (due to immigration) is not entirely applicable to ethnic German immigrants. On the one hand, all young ethnic German immigrants of the first generation can regard themselves as *multicultural*. This means that they may identify with their country of birth (e.g., Russia) and the country they now live in (Germany). On the other hand, many young ethnic German immigrants may further be *multiethnic* by birth due to mixed marriages of their parents (e.g., an ethnic German mother and a Russian father). As one can see, multiple categorizations, measured as ethnic self-labels in our research, are especially important in this particular sample.

Self-categorization is of special interest in the Middle East. In a study conducted in Israel and Lebanon, for example, eleven ethnic labels were identified as relevant (Hofman & Shahin, 2001). They were composed of communal (e.g., Moslem/ Christian/ Jewish) and national (Israel/ Lebanon) categories.

Self-categorizations have been investigated in more detail among the Palestinian minority in Israel and described in Suleiman (2002). One result of research conducted in this area is that the perception of social identity, measured by investigating the categorization labels, was very unstable across time. For example, in a study by Peres and Yuval-Davis (1969), the labels ranking from most to least preferred in 1966 were (1) Israeli, (2) Israeli-Arab, (3) Arab, (4) Palestinian, and (5) Muslim/Christian. A follow-up study was conducted one year later, with the following rank order: (1) Arab, (2) Muslim/ Christian, (3) Israeli-Arab, (4) Palestinian, and (5) Israeli. “The civic-Israeli identity, which a year earlier had headed the list, was relegated to the bottom” (Suleiman, 2002, p. 39). The war of 1967 had come between the two measurements and dramatically changed the outcomes.

This phenomenon has been argued for before: “Social categories serve to make sense of social situations, and, therefore, as social situations vary, categorizations must be flexible” (Ellemers & van Knippenberg, 1997, p. 216). According to the so-called alternation model, individuals are able to understand two cultural frameworks and can alter their perceptions and behaviors depending on the circumstances, even if they are less dramatic than the war mentioned above (LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993). In their daily lives, bicultural individuals may shift back and forth between these frameworks. This has been termed “frame switching” (Hong, Morris, Chiu, & Benet-Martínez, 2000). How and why people switch frames and the consequence of this is unclear. It is thought that “culture is not internalized in the form of an integrated structure but rather as domain-specific knowledge, such as implicit social theories” (Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2002, p. 569). These do not guide thinking simultaneously, but rather, different cultural knowledge becomes operative in particular situations.

Returning to the study by Suleiman (2002), a second result presented was a rise in national self-awareness found in studies conducted over the last decades in Israel (Rouhanam 1984, 1993; Smootha, 1988; Suleiman & Beit-Hallahmi, 1997; Tessler, 1977). Linked to this are a larger number of minority members that “define themselves using categories that combine their national and civic affiliations” (Suleiman, 2002, p. 39). Smootha (1988) explained these findings by suggesting that a “new Arab” in Israel has evolved, integrating both the Israeli as well as the Palestinian components of his or her identity. He describes this “new Arab” as bi-lingual and bi-cultural, feeling solidarity with the Palestinian people and at the same time loyalty to the state of Israel. Further, the “new Arab” is supportive of the PLO and aspires for a two-state solution; his future, however, being associated with Israel.

A third finding was that the Palestinian participants perceived their national (Palestinian) and civic (Israeli) identities as diametrically opposed. However, the combined label “Palestinian-Israeli” was rated as fairly close to their self-identity. Suleiman (2002) proposed a “double marginality” model as an explanation: “Only by being marginal on both (national and civic) identities can the Palestinian minority integrate between these conflicting findings” (p. 41). This is in line with research among other immigrant groups, where the acquirement of more than one cultural frame is thought possible even if the two contain conflicting elements (Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2002).

Naturally, research findings among Palestinian Israelis in Israel cannot automatically be imposed upon other populations such as ethnic German immigrants. However, these studies are among the few detailed investigations into self-labeling, and basic results (such as the existence and importance of multiple categorizations or the role the political situation plays in self-categorization) may be generalized. Previous research has shown that the categories German, Russian, and ethnic German are of importance in the lives of adolescent ethnic German immigrants (Dietz & Roll, 1989; Roll, 2003). In accordance with this finding, the open-ended question “I regard myself as a...” of our own study did not reveal any other category besides the three named above. The only other label that was additionally indicated by (neglectable) 0.6% of our participants is “Russlanddeutscher,” which is similar to ethnic German.

2.2.7 Ethnic Self-Labels in Acculturation Research

For this dissertation, ethnic self-labels are theoretically and empirically validated against acculturation orientations. This has three main reasons. First, ethnic self-labels as measured here consist of only three items, which makes it advisable to construct validate them against another measure. This has been suggested by others, as well: “Cultural identity constructs measured using

a different methodology can serve for the concurrent validation” (Ben-Shalom & Horenczyk, 2003, p. 180). Though ethnic identity and acculturation were shown to be distinct phenomena (Liebkind et al., 2004), ethnic and cultural identity are often related to acculturation orientations so that these are regarded as a good choice for the validation. Second, acculturation orientations may help clarify the classification of the three categories German, Russian, and ethnic German (e.g., as in in- or out-group). Third, by examining the relationship between identity and acculturation orientations, the understudied concept of ethnic self-label is further embedded in existing acculturation research.

What are acculturation orientations? A popular approach is to presume that a person can appreciate, practice, or identify with two different cultures independently of one another (Rudmin, 2003). If acculturation, defined as “the process that individuals undergo in response to a changing cultural context” (Berry et al., 2002, p. 349), is seen as multidimensional, it means that individuals or groups may change on more than one dimension. For example, adolescent ethnic Germans moving from Russia to Germany may change a little in their traditional-, and adopt much of the new culture’s way of living. Several models have been introduced to capture the concept of acculturation¹¹. The model most often used in acculturation field research is that by Berry and colleagues (Berry, 1970, 1974, 1980). Berry distinguishes between two dimensions. He describes one as the orientation towards one’s own group, and the other as orientation towards other groups.¹² His model phrases two questions: (1) Is it considered to be of value to maintain cultural identity and characteristics? (2) Is it considered to be of value to maintain relationships with other groups? On the basis of yes or no responses, four acculturation strategies, or orientations, emerge.¹³ If both questions are agreed to, the acculturation orientation is named integration. If both are rejected, marginalization occurs. If there is agreement to the first question (maintaining cultural identity and characteristics), but not to the second (maintaining relationships with other groups), separation is the orientation. Last, if there is no value seen in maintaining cultural identity and characteristics, but only in relationships with other groups, assimilation occurs (Figure 2.3).

¹¹ For example, Moghaddam (1988) introduced the “mobility model of cultural integration.” This model is based on Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). It does not emphasize acculturation as the central concept, but instead describes cultural or ethnic minorities as one of several disadvantaged groups. This model has been mostly used in experimental studies (Liebkind, 2001).

¹² This „orientation towards other groups“ usually refers to members of the receiving country (hosts), though Berry does not explicitly specifies this in his general framework (e.g., 2003).

¹³ Terms for this concept are manifold. While Berry and colleagues typically refer to acculturation attitudes and strategies, others prefer the terms acculturation styles or modes (e.g. Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999). Other names used are adaptations, alternatives, feelings, goals, identities, modes, options, and preferences (Rudmin, 2003).

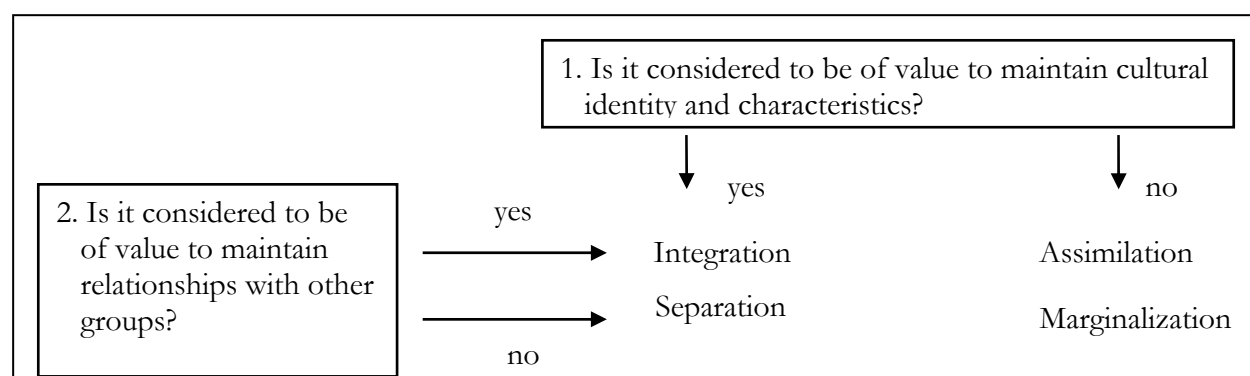


Figure 2.3. Acculturation orientations (Berry, 2003).

Acculturation orientations are not randomly adopted. Cultural groups and individual factors influence this choice. Indeed, some authors argue that it is not an individual choice at all (Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999). Group-level factors may influence the choice of acculturation orientation in several ways: The kind of contact between groups, appearance of group members, or size of group may play a role. Berry (2003), for example, states that members of groups in voluntary contact (e.g., exchange students) are more likely to seek participation in the new culture. They are therefore more probable to choose integration or assimilation than those whose contact is not voluntary (e.g., refugees). Appearance hinders or supports certain choices: People that are recognizable as members of the out-group may be less attracted by assimilation or kept away from it by discrimination. Finally, the sheer number of members of a group may increase the possibility of cultural maintenance. Without this possibility, integration or separation would not be realistic options. Further, acculturation orientations vary across individuals, groups, and societies. They also vary due to the interaction between the two groups in contact. Acculturation orientations of the immigrants as well as those of the locals play an important role in acculturation (Berry et al., 2002).

Ethnic identity, just like acculturation orientations, can be conceptualized in at least two dimensions: “(a) retention of or identification with the ethnic, or original, culture and (b) adaptation to or identification with a dominant, host, or “new” culture” (Phinney, 2003, p. 63). This resembles Berry’s concept of acculturation strategies, though Phinney believes that additional dimensions, such as identification with at third or multiple culture, are possible and likely.

Camilleri and Malewska-Peyre (1997) have come up with two identity strategies that are related to Berry’s acculturation orientations. They draw a distinction between value identity and real identity. The former refers to what an individual would like to be and represents an attitude. The latter refers to what an individual is at the present time and represents the behavior. Both

aspects of identity may be very similar, but when they are not, people are said to strive for a reduction of the difference between the two. According to the authors, such discrepancies are most salient among immigrant adolescents “who often share the values of their peers in the dominant society, in opposition to those of their parents in the immigrant group” (Berry et al., 2002, p. 358).

The strategies used to resolve the conflict resulting from a discrepancy between value and real identity are fourfold. (1) “Simple tolerance” avoids the identity conflict by clinging to one’s heritage cultural values and ignoring or rejecting those from the dominant culture (resembling the acculturation strategy “separation”). (2) “Pragmatism” (also referred to as “chameleon identity”) occurs if when adolescents maintain their heritage cultural identity when with their parents, but turn to a more modern orientation with their peers (resembling the acculturation strategy “integration”). (3) “Conflict avoidance by complex coherence” is the strategy when individuals try to maximize advantages by selecting advantageous aspects of each culture (also resembling the acculturation strategy “integration”). (4) Substrategies such as “dissociation” are employed when conflict between the two cultures is eminent and coherence is to be achieved. These resemble either assimilation or marginalization acculturation strategies.

Brewer (1991) has conceptualized ethnic identity as a dynamic state resulting from the interaction of three components: (1) The intensity with which an individual is embedded in his or her heritage culture group; (2) the willingness to adapt to and bond with the heritage culture group; and (3) the complimentary striving for separation from the heritage group. In her dynamic identity model, she assumes an individual finding the balance between the connection to and differentiation from the heritage group is most comfortable with the acculturation situation. In a study among Turkish adolescents in Germany, for example, ethnic identity was measured on the dimensions “bonding with heritage culture” and “differentiating from heritage culture” (Schönpflug, 2005). These resemble Berry’s two dimensions of acculturation dimensions; the first being the value attached to the maintenance of cultural identity and characteristics, the second the value attached to the maintenance of relationships with other groups.

Berry (2003) globally describes the relationship between ethnic and cultural identity and acculturation orientations in the sense that “an ethnic and cultural identity is related to a preference for separation, a national identity predicts assimilation, a combination of both identities [...] predicts integration” (p. 30). No clear identity should predict marginalization.

Ethnic self-labels (as part of ethnic identity) and acculturation are both multidimensional and dynamic constructs, and change is central to both constructs. Changes in ethnic self-labels, for example, may occur over time, across generations, in different contexts, or with age. Changes

that occur over time in a new culture may be thought of as acculturation-related changes (Phinney, 2003). Both the changes in acculturation and ethnic identity can be conceptualized in at least two dimensions, while additional dimensions are not ruled out. Another important similarity is that both are claimed to be important for psychological well-being and mental health in ethnic minority adolescents (Berry & Kim, 1988; Kvernmo & Heyerdahl, 2004; Phinney & Chavira, 1992; Phinney, Chavira, & Williamson, 1992; Sam, 1994). The model of acculturation orientations (e.g., Berry, 2003), identity strategies (Camilleri & Malewska-Peyre, 1997), and the dynamic identity model (Brewer, 1991) lead to the assumption that ethnic self-labels can be validated against acculturation orientations.

2.2.8 Determination of Group Membership in Relation to Acculturation Orientations

In addition to validate ethnic self-labels, the model of acculturation orientations may also serve as orientation when defining the three categories German, Russian, and ethnic German. Acculturation orientations are the result of yes and no answers to two dimensions of attitudes, namely towards the own heritage culture (Russian or ethnic German) and towards the new culture (German). Four orientations result, and these can be adapted to the categories and ethnic self-labels adolescents in this dissertation can ascribe themselves to. Adolescent ethnic German immigrants labeling themselves as “German,” for example, should agree with acculturation items attaching value to the maintenance of relationships with other groups (in Berry’s terms) or to a differentiation from the heritage culture (in Brewer’s terms). Those labeling themselves as “Russian” should agree with acculturation items attaching value to the maintenance of cultural identity and characteristics (Berry), or to bonding with the heritage culture (Brewer), or to the “simple tolerance strategy” (in terms of Camilleri & Malewska-Peyre), and so forth. Results of the validation are presented in section 4.3.1.3.

Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, and Vedder (2001) have used this approach to understand variations in ethnic identity. Analog to a two-dimensional acculturation model, “ethnic identity and identity as a member of one’s new society (“national identity”) can be thought of as two dimensions of group identity that vary independently; that is, each identity can be either secure and strong or undeveloped and weak” (p. 495). Four types of identity result in accordance with acculturation orientations, namely assimilated, bicultural (or integrated), separated, and marginalized identities. Table 2.2. shows how these correspond to the categories and ethnic self-labels adolescent ethnic Germans may ascribe themselves to.

In sum, the case of ethnic German immigrants is a challenge for the social and ethnic identity approach. In social identity terms, Russian and ethnic German are the categories referring to the in-group, German is the category referring to the out-group. In terms of ethnic identity, Russian and ethnic German are the ethnic or heritage culture, whereas German is the new or national culture. Related to acculturation orientations, attitudes towards the heritage culture refer to the Russian and ethnic German categories; attitudes towards the new culture refer to the German category (see Table 2.2).

Table 2.2

Classification of the Categories and Ethnic Self-Labels in Identity and Acculturation Research

		Social Identity	Ethnic Identity	Acculturation Dimension	Acculturation Orientation
Category/ Ethnic Self-Label	G	Out-group	New/ national culture (Assimilated Identity)	Towards new culture	Assimilation
	R	In-group	Ethnic/ heritage culture (Separated Identity)	Towards heritage culture	Separation
	E	In-group	Ethnic/ heritage culture (Separated Identity)	Towards heritage culture	Separation
Ethnic Self-Label	GR		Bicultural Identity		Integration
	GE		Bicultural Identity		Integration
	RE		Separated Identity		Separation
	GRE		Bicultural Identity		Integration
	N		Marginalized Identity		Marginalization

2.3 Formation of Ethnic Self-Labels

Adolescent ethnic German immigrants may regard themselves as German, Russian, ethnic German, or any combination of the three. These categories and the resulting ethnic self-labels have been embedded in the relevant fields of research (social, ethnic, and cultural identity theories, as well as acculturation orientations). The question is now: How does an individual generate his or her ethnic identity or ethnic self-label? Two lines of research aim at answering this question: One concerns the *development* of identity, the other its *formation*. Theories concerning the

development of identity usually describe different stages of development an individual passes on the way to knowledge and acceptance of his or her identity. Formation of identity, on the other hand, is concerned with factors that influence specific contents of identity (labels).

Three main theories for the development of identity, namely the ones by Erikson (1959, 1968), Marcia (1966), and Phinney and Rosenthal (1992), are briefly described. Concerning the formation of ethnic identity or ethnic self-labels no specific theory or model exists. Different contexts are thought relevant here (e.g., Smith et al., 2004). To predict the choice of a particular ethnic self-label, developmental models and findings concerning identity formation are useful to a different degree. In this section, identity development and identity formation are discussed. In the next sections, it is stated which line of research (development or formation) is applicable for assumptions concerning the relationship between addressed variables and ethnic self-labels.

Erikson, an immigrant himself, created a model for the development of identity (1959, 1968). The working definition of identity for this model, simply put, is the answers given to the question “who am I?” According to Erikson, this question keeps its relevance throughout the lifespan, but is probably answered differently at different age stages. Identity development begins in babyhood when the child learns his or her own name. It reaches its peak during adolescence which, in his view, is a critical period for the formation of a personal identity. This stage is characterized by a conflict between two needs: The need to attain a sense of self-integration, or ego identity, and the need to meet the demands of society and to find one’s place in the world (identity diffusion). During adolescence, an individual asks “Who am I?” and “Where am I going?” It is only through “the resolution of these uncertainties that an individual becomes equipped for the next stage of human development, attaining the psychological intimacy of adult relationships (Durkin, 1995, p. 516).

Each previous phase in the development of identity influences the next. Especially for minorities, the development of an identity is difficult, and Erikson (1959, 1968) introduced the concept of identity crisis. During such a crisis, an adolescent presumably struggles to decide who she or he is and wants to become. The details of how exactly this happens are not clear, but it is undisputed that identity issues are a central developmental tasks during adolescence.

Marcia (1966) followed up on Erikson’s idea and identified four different types of identity status among adolescents that form the process of ego identity development. The first he called “identity diffusion.” This stage is characterized by the avoidance of commitment and indecision about major life issues such as vocation, ideology, and religion. The second is “identity

foreclosure,” describing a status of preliminary commitment and value orientation. It is characterized by the tentative acceptance of others’ (such as parents or teachers) values rather than self-determined goals (e.g., selecting school options because an adult says they are worthwhile). The third stage is “moratorium.” Here, an identity crisis leads to active attention to major decisions, for example about the occupational or social future. No firm commitments are yet made. Having reached the fourth and last stage, “identity achievement,” an individual has resolved his or her crisis and has made firm commitments.

Phinney and Rosenthal (1992) adapted Marcia’s model to the development of *ethnic* identity. They call this the “Three-Stage Model of Ethnic Identity Formation.”¹⁴ While it has parallels in the writings on ego (or personal) identity development above, there are important differences: Ethnic identities are group identities and ascribed rather than chosen, for example based on the parent’s heritage. Further, these ascribed ethnic identities often carry with them a negative stigma. Achieving an ethnic identity requires the exploration of it’s meaning for oneself and, additionally, determination of how to function in relation to a group that may be perceived as low-status by the larger society (Phinney & Alipuria, in preparation).

Similar to ego identity development, ethnic identity development is seen as developing through a series of three stages. The first, initial stage is termed unexamined stage. It is characterized by a lack of awareness of one’s ethnicity. This stage is thought to end when adolescents begin a period of exploration (similar to moratorium described by Erikson, 1968) to learn more about their background and their membership in certain ethnic groups. This is then called the exploration stage. Ideally, the exploration stage is followed by the third stage, an achieved ethnic identity. It is characterized by “a commitment to one’s ethnicity that is based on a clear understanding of its implications and a secure, confident sense of one’s group membership” (Phinney, 2003, p. 74). However, individuals do not necessarily undergo all three stages, and shifting between levels is also possible. According to Phinney (1993), this model is applicable across ethnic groups and has been tested among several populations in diverse countries.

The *development* of ethnic identity is thus believed to follow an order of stages. What about the *formation* of ethnic identity? As mentioned in the beginning of this section, factors influencing the choice of self-labels as the cognitive component of ethnic identity have not yet been systematically investigated (Phinney & Alipuria, 1996). One reason for this may be the complexity of different factors interacting with each other. The focus of research on ethnic identity in

¹⁴ Phinney (e.g., 1993; 2000) and other authors (e.g., Hernandez & Charney, 1998) use the terms development and formation interchangeably while in this dissertation, a theoretical differentiation is attempted.

adolescence has been more on its implications (Phinney, Romero, Nava, & Huang, 2001). To our knowledge, there is no model including a specific set of predictors, neither for ethnic identity as a whole nor for ethnic self-labels.

There is general agreement that in order to understand identity, different types of contexts need to be addressed (Grotevant, 1987). Erikson, for example, argued that identity is constructed through processes of feedback from other persons such as family members and peers and from institutional sources such as schools. Other authors emphasize the contexts of culture, peers, family, society, school, and work (Smith et al., 2004).

As there are no systematic studies, it is difficult to identify *a priori* those correlates that are relevant for ethnic self-labels, and to define the direction of the relationship. We have strived for a new approach by simultaneously including variables from all the contexts identified as relevant by Smith and colleagues (2004)¹⁵. Factors deemed important in the formation of ethnic self-labels are: Language (context: culture), percentage of friends (context: peers), parental knowledge about the child's spare-time activities and whereabouts (context: family), perceived discrimination (context: society), and school commitment (context: school). Length of residency in the new country is additionally included in this dissertation as another specific factor for the formation of ethnic identity among immigrants. All variables are described in the next sections, including general findings, findings concerning their development and/ or their formation if applicable, and expectancies in the German context. In section 2.3.3, an additional explanatory model (acculturation process; Esser, 1980) is introduced that serves as background for the relationship between school commitment/ length of residency and ethnic self-labels.

2.3.1 Language

The most obvious challenge most immigrants face when moving to a new country is local language acquisition. Language proficiency is critical in almost all domains of everyday life: At school or work, when making new social contacts, while shopping, banking, looking for housing, using public transportation, in health care, and so forth. Language proficiency, though no guarantee for integration, is a necessary, indispensable agent for participation in the mainstream society. In the same line of reasoning, it is a requirement for identifying with the new culture (Fuchs, Schwietering, & Weiß, 1999). Does German language use influence the formation of an adolescents' ethnic self-label, and if yes, which category (German, Russian, ethnic German) is affected how?

¹⁵ As our research is on adolescents, we do not include the context work, but school.

Social Identity Theory predicts in-group language use to enhance in-group identity. Language use in this line of reasoning is an instrument of inter-group differentiation, with speakers using their choice of language to express their attitudes towards inter-group relations. For example, using the in-group language can exclude out-group members from social activities. In our interview study, speaking the Russian language was evaluated as advantageous. Alexander (17 years) used the Russian language in school with Russian classmates so that the teacher could not understand. The teacher, member of the out-group, was excluded, whereas the other Russian students formed a tie. On the other hand, local Germans at times reacted negatively: “They are upset when we sometimes talk Russian” (Konstantin, 16 years), which made the immigrants feel excluded. Heritage language use thus goes both ways: Out-group members like the teacher can be actively ostracized, but speaking this language can also lead to reactions from members of the mainstream society that lead to feelings of exclusion on part of the immigrant. Research findings showed that in accordance with Social Identity Theory, the use of language in children and adults alike was related to their sense of national identification (e.g., Reizabal, Valencia, & Barrett, 2004).

In research on ethnic identity *development*, a strong relationship between language and identity is also expected. Ethnic language is perhaps the most frequently cited contributor to ethnic identity (Phinney, Romero, et al., 2001), and language can often be a critical attribute to group membership (Giles & Coupland, 1991). In-group speech serves, for example, as a symbol of ethnic identity and cultural solidarity. It reminds the group about its cultural heritage or transmit group feelings. Thus, language proficiency can be perceived as necessary cultural competence for group membership and acceptance (Kvernmo & Heyerdahl, 2004). However, some authors (e.g., Edwards & Chisholm, 1987) also point out that language is not always necessary for group identity. Conflicting findings regarding the importance of language may be owing to different methodologies, differences in the situations of the groups, or differences of the group itself (Imbens-Bailey, 1996). For example, research from Canada may not be comparable with studies from the United States due to different immigration histories, or different policies such as bilingualism in Canada (e.g., Lanca, Alskins, Rose, & Gardner, 1994). Most research, however, suggests that language and identity are reciprocally related: “Language-use influences the formation of group identity, and group identity influences patterns of language attitudes and usage” (Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 1998, p. 209).

While it is generally agreed upon that language is important for both the formation as well as the development of identity, another matter is the operationalization of language. Language may be asserted in a variety of ways. Studies assess either new or original language, and

sometimes both. Language use and comprehension as well as language choice in a communicative situation are indices of ethnic identity (Rogler, Cooney, & Ortiz, 1980; Lanca et al., 1994). However, a distinction between different language-related concepts such as language use, language proficiency, or language choice is rarely made, though needed. In their research among adolescent Russian-speaking immigrants to Finland, for example, Jasinskaja-Lahti and Liebkind (1998) found language *proficiency* not to be relevant for ethnic identity. However, respective language *use* in every-day life was found to be a direct predictor of the degree of their Russian and Finnish ethnic identity.¹⁶

In Germany, Fuchs and colleagues have argued that German language proficiency is a necessary agent for the acquirement of a German identity (1999). Dietz claimed that every study shows language abilities to promote integration (2004). For example and as shown in one study, for one third of adolescent ethnic Germans, speaking German was an important aspect of German identity (Dietz & Roll, 1998). In fact, German language proficiency was the number one factor for what it meant for them to be German. Children and adolescents usually learn the language faster than their parents, and often function as “language brokers” in the families, for example by translating official letters. But how well do young ethnic Germans know the German language, and how much do they use it? Upon arrival, adolescent ethnic Germans from countries of the former Soviet Union have little or no knowledge of the German language (Dietz, 2003). In our own interview study, Jelena (17) recalled feeling worried when moving to Germany at age six: „I thought I could not cope in Germany. How should I communicate with people? How should I meet my friends?”

Dietz (2003) conducted a study with 253 adolescent ethnic Germans age 15-25. They had immigrated to Germany between 1990 and 1994 and originated from former Soviet Union states. Only 3.2% reported very good German language abilities. Adolescents immigrating before 1993 claimed better German *proficiency* than those arriving 1993 and later. It is unclear whether a longer length of residency in Germany lead to this result, or whether adolescents immigrating between 1990 and 1992 per se had better knowledge of the German language. More than two thirds of the interviewed adolescents claimed no natural acquisition of German. Rather, almost 50% reported that language problems pose the greatest difficulties.

In the same study, German language *use* was influenced by length of residency: The longer families lived in Germany, the more both languages were being used. Dietz found 8% of adolescent ethnic Germans to speak only German at home. 45.6% spoke Russian, and 46.5% spoke a mixture of Russian and German. This means that more than half of all ethnic Germans

¹⁶ For this dissertation, language use at home as well as outside the home is assessed (see section 4.3.2).

spoke German at home or were bilingual. Purely Russian was spoken in 60.9% of all homes with a mixed Russian/ethnic German background. However, reported language use cannot be equated with language proficiency. Adolescents in our interview study explained how language is being mixed at their homes: “We speak half-and-half” claimed Linda (20), who lived in Germany since age 13. “I cannot speak purely Russian. If I speak Russian, there are always a few German words mixed in between. I don’t know, sometimes I forget words or German just comes easier to me.”

Without controversy, local language proficiency plays an important role in the life of adolescent ethnic German immigrants. Knowledge of German may be necessary for the communication with friends, and definitely is for daily activities, education, and later chances of employment (Dietz, 2003). How do we expect German language use to be related to specific ethnic self-labels? Young ethnic German immigrants claimed that speaking German is closely related to being German. It is thus assumed that more German language use is linked with a higher agreement with the *German* category.

Assessing how much an adolescent uses the local language, however, does not include any information on how much the mother language (e.g., Russian) is still spoken. It may well be that the adolescent is bilingual and uses both languages, thus identifying with both cultures and all possible labels. More German language use should be related to a “German” in the ethnic self-label, but multiple self-labels that may additionally include the Russian and/ or ethnic German category are also possible. An adolescent that is bilingual and uses both languages is expected to identify with both cultures and both labels. Still, the simple fact that one cannot speak more just because there are more languages available at hand leads to the assumption that adolescents using two languages by sheer definition use both languages less often than adolescents speaking just one language. Following this reasoning, it is believed that multiple self-labels including the German and the Russian category are linked to less German language use than adolescents choosing the ethnic self-label “German.”

The *Russian* category, on the other hand, should be linked with less German (and more Russian) language use. Indeed, Russian language use predicted Russian identity among adolescent Russian immigrants to Finland (Jasinkaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 1998). Adolescents using mainly one language were expected to label themselves according to the language (e.g., German language use ↔ German self-label; Russian language use ↔ Russian self-label).

The third possible category, *ethnic German*, is a political term that is often used interchangeably with the Russian category. It implies German heritage, which could mean that adolescents that use the German language often label themselves as “Ethnic German,” as well. However, to be legally recognized as an ethnic German means that the adolescents’ ancestors

were Germans. It is sufficient if one member of the family speaks enough German to pass the language test necessary for the absorption permit. In most cases, this is not the adolescent himself or herself. On the contrary: Many adolescent ethnic Germans immigrate to Germany as ethnic German and have achieved this status without German language proficiency (e.g., Dietz & Roll, 1998). For them, German language proficiency and use has little to do with being recognized as an ethnic German, and should not be related to the ethnic German category.

Both the Russian and the ethnic German category are thus expected to be linked to less German language use than the German category. Accordingly, the same holds for the multiple self-label “Russian-ethnic German.” Adolescents ascribing themselves to this combination should report about as much German language use as those ascribing solely to the “Russian” or “ethnic German” label.

Turning to the last possible ethnic self-label “None”: Adolescents ascribing to this label do not adopt any of the three categories, but must use a language nonetheless. As they disagree with the Russian category, it is assumed that they do not primarily use the Russian language. They reject the German category as well, which means they presumably also do not use the German language. However, as they live in Germany, they inevitably come into contact with the German language, for example in school, during spare-time activities, while watching TV, or among peers. While Russian is a language they can evade (unless a parent does not speak German), German cannot be avoided. We thus argue that “None” labelers use the German language more often than “Russian,” “Ethnic German,” or “Russian-ethnic German,” but less often than “German” labelers. The concrete hypotheses are stated in section 3.1.1.

2.3.2 Peer Relations

Friendships may serve as a major context for the development of social identities among immigrant adolescents (Weinreich, 1983). Adolescents explore who they are by participating in activities with their peers within the context of the peer culture (Pugh & Hart, 1999). Friendships “serve cultural functions as a means for the transmission of information and codes about the normative expectations of society and culture, providing much of the social context that allows proper performance of actions” (Horenczyk & Tatar, 1998, p. 70). This behavior, in turn, will then be accepted and rewarded by the peer group. According to Bochner, McLeod, and Lin (1977), peers from the own group (e.g., other ethnic Germans or Russians) provide a setting in which ethnic and cultural values can be rehearsed and expressed. Friendships with peers from the receiving country (e.g., local Germans) may serve as an entrée into the new environment, thus facilitating partial or full integration. Multinational networks are assumed to serve mainly

recreational needs. In general, friendships are thought to reflect the needs arising from coping with the immigration experience (Horenczyk & Tatar, 1998).

Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) makes clear predictions concerning the relationship between in-group favoritism (which can be, for example, expressed through the choice of friends) and social identity. According to this theory, individuals strongly identifying with their group are motivated to evaluate their own group positively in comparison with other groups. Establishing a favorable distinctiveness of the in-group by comparison with other groups (in-group favoritism) can function to achieve a positive group identity. Social Identity Theory thus predicts a positive correlation between national in-group favoritism and national identification (Verkuyten, 2001). The idea behind this is that if one has many local German friends, for example, and one wants to evaluate one's group membership positively (one of the underlying assumptions of Social Identity Theory), then one adopts the local German identity more readily. Applying this theory to adolescent ethnic German immigrants, it is expected that adolescents' friendships and ethnic self-labels correspond. A higher proportion of local German friends should be linked to a higher identification with the German category, a higher proportion of Russian friends to a higher identification with the Russian category, and so forth.

The model of ethnic identity development (Phinney, 1998) does not clearly state how peers should influence ethnic identity. However, the extent of social interactions or amount of time spent with peers from one's own group is assumed to influence ethnic identity (Phinney, Romero, et al., 2001). For example, in a study Phinney, Horenczyk, and colleagues (2001) conducted among three different immigrant groups in the United States, social interaction with peers from one's own ethnic group was significantly and positively related to ethnic identity.

It has been suggested that in-group ethnic friendships provide a means by which ethnicity is experienced and expressed (Alba, 1990). Friendships with local peers are assumed to help an immigrant adolescent learn about the new culture. Friendships with peers from the same ethnic group serve to reinforce ethnic identity, for example through ethnic language use. That social interaction with peers from one's own ethnic group was significantly related to ethnic identity among several different groups gives evidence of the important role peers play in socialization (Harris, 1995).

In Germany, young ethnic German immigrants claimed that having local German friends was part of being German (Dietz & Roll, 1998). In another study, however, more than half reportedly had mostly other ethnic German immigrants as friends (Dietz, 2003). Three reasons

for this separation were given by Barbara Dietz. First, most ethnic German immigrants cannot afford leisure activities that are more common among locals, such as going to the movies, travels, or sports. Second, many ethnic German immigrants live in areas (“ghettos”) where it is difficult to get in touch with other Germans. Further, ethnic German immigrants – in contrast to local Germans - are not used to organizing their leisure time. Instead of planning activities, they usually just meet out in the streets. Female ethnic Germans, though, tend to mostly stay at home and are therefore even more isolated than males. 70% of ethnic German adolescents interviewed by Dietz wanted more contact with local Germans.

In our own interview study, most adolescents expressed satisfaction with their friendships. Some preferred local, and others ethnic German friends. In all cases, they claimed to get along with both, ethnic and local Germans, and to be happy with the way their friendships were distributed across the groups. The difference between the findings by Dietz and our own may lie in the fact that the former study was conducted in Bavaria, which takes in 14.4% of all ethnic Germans coming to Germany, while our study was conducted in Thuringia, which accepts 3.5%. It should be easier to find local German friends in an environment where only few of the peers are other ethnic German immigrants.

Turning now to the assumptions concerning the relationship between peers and ethnic self-labels in the German context: Local peers are believed to influence identification with the new (German) culture. It is thus assumed that adolescent ethnic Germans with a high proportion of local German friends agree more strongly with the German category than those with a low proportion of German friends. Conversely, a smaller proportion of local German friends (which implies a larger proportion of Russian or ethnic German friends) should be linked to a stronger agreement with the Russian and/ or ethnic German category.

If a higher percentage of local German friends endorses agreement with the German category and a lower percentage of local German friends endorses agreement with the Russian or ethnic German category, what kind of friendship groups should adolescents with multiple ethnic self-labels report? Beginning with a higher percentage of local German friends: These friends should not per se hinder identification with the other two categories Russian and ethnic German. The highest percentage of local German friends should be related to the single ethnic self-label “German,” but the second highest percentage of local German friends should be linked to the multiple ethnic self-labels “German-Russian,” “German-ethnic German,” and “German-Russian-ethnic German.” A lower percentage of local German friends is expected by those excluding the German category from their label. This refers to “Russian” and “Ethnic German” labelers and includes the multiple ethnic self-label “Russian-ethnic German.”

Turning to the last possible ethnic self-label “None”: Adolescents ascribing to this label do not adopt any of the three categories, which gives no hint of special friendship “preferences.” It may be assumed that they have fewer friends (in absolute numbers) than other labelers. However, the percentage of local German friends is evaluated, and not the number of friends. They are neither especially drawn towards local German friends (as adolescents including the German category in their label are expected to be), nor towards Russian or ethnic German friends (as adolescents including these categories in their label are expected to be). However, as they live in Germany, coming into contact with local Germans, for example at school, is unavoidable and may more easily lead to local German friends. We thus argue that “None” labelers have a higher percentage of local German friends than “Russian,” “ethnic German,” or “Russian-ethnic German,” but a smaller percentage than “German” labelers. The concrete hypotheses are stated in section 3.1.1.

2.3.3 School Commitment

How children from immigrant backgrounds adapt to schools in their new society is an important issue for the immigrant families, as well as the receiving society. It has been argued that it may be the most important indicator of both their psychological, as well as sociocultural adaptation (Liebkind et al., 2004). Generally, school adjustment is measured as either school achievement or educational attainment.

Contrary to what one might expect, many immigrants actually do better at school than the majority population (Fuligni, 1998; Liebkind et al., 2004). Students from Asian and Latino households in the United States, for example, are less likely to drop out of school than those from non-immigrant households (Feliciano, 2001). Similar results were found outside of the United States: In the Netherlands, adolescents from ethnic minority groups reported higher levels of school commitment compared to local adolescents (Meeus, Oosterwegel, & Vollebergh, 2002). In Finland, national students were less adjusted to school than adolescent Russian repatriates or young Vietnamese immigrants, despite perceived discrimination and socioeconomic disadvantage of the latter (Liebkind et al., 2004).

Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) is not applied in predicting the relationship between school commitment and ethnic identity or ethnic self-labels, as it is a theory focusing on intergroup relations and not on individual achievement. Instead, the model by Esser (1980) provides a useful theoretical background among immigrant samples. Originally developed to model intergenerational transmission processes, it includes contextual as well as individual mechanism that affect the acculturation process. According to this model, personal preconditions

(such as motivational and cognitive attributes) are matched against opportunities provided by the society. The acculturation process then involves several consecutive stages on two levels: The level of the parents and the level of the children. At the end of the process stands what Esser termed identificative assimilation, which is the predominant identification with the receiving society. In regard to ethnic German immigrants and the concept of ethnic self-labels, the outcome is thus agreement with the German category.

Figure 2.4 shows the acculturation process according to Esser (1980). School commitment (as part of social assimilation) is an antecedent of national identity (similar to identificative assimilation). It should be noticed that the term “assimilation” in this model is not equivalent to assimilation as meant by Berry (e.g., 2003), who uses it to describe a specific type of acculturation orientation. Rather, assimilation here can be seen as acculturation.

Starting on the left hand side of Esser’s model, cognitive capital refers to the amount of general knowledge and abilities that may be of value in the new country. Cognitive assimilation, the next stage, is the acquisition of knowledge about the new society, for example language skills. Social assimilation is regarded as participation in the new social context. For children, this includes school attendance and is thus of importance in this section. The final stage is called identificative assimilation. This, as stated above, is the predominant identification with the new society, in our case, Germany. This model does not explain the relationship between social assimilation (e.g., school commitment) and identificative assimilation (e.g., agreement with the German category), but implies that the former may influence the latter.

For this dissertation, the children’s level in this model is focused on. The assumed process towards the “goal” of acculturation, which is identification with the receiving country, leads from cognitive assimilation (e.g., learning German) to social assimilation (e.g., school commitment) to identificative assimilation (e.g., including the German category in one’s label).

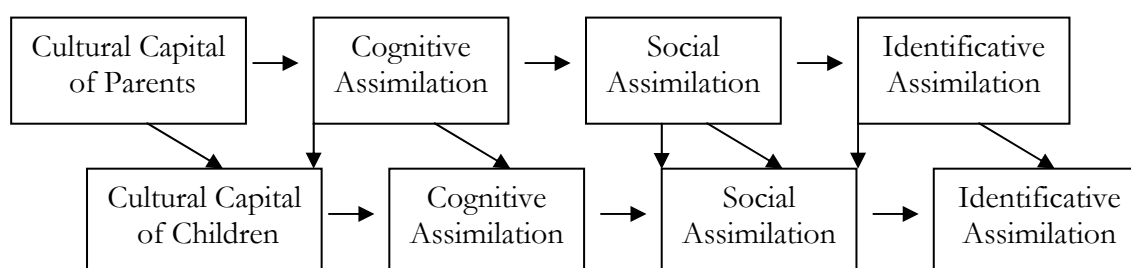


Figure 2.4. Acculturation process, adapted from Esser (1980).

Different from Esser's model, in which social assimilation leads to identificative assimilation, other researchers have wondered whether retaining or shedding an immigrant culture affects education. The "straight-line assimilation" perspective proposes that maintaining an ethnic culture hinders mainstream success (Gordon, 1964). According to this viewpoint, immigrants and their descendants over time assimilate to locals. Losing their cultural uniqueness is regarded as necessary for successful adaptation to local schools. This view seemed to fit the experiences of European immigrants to the United States, but has recently been questioned (Feliciano, 2001). Many researchers now argue that assimilation may instead lead to a decline in academic achievement, and that maintenance of the original, immigrant culture should be regarded as an asset (Portes & Zhou, 1993). It has even been found that the longer the immigrants resided in the United States, the higher the decline in school grades and aspirations (e.g., Kim & Chun, 1994; Rumbaut, 1997).

Why should assimilation to the new culture undermine school success? Some authors argue that immigrant adolescents hold a beneficial "immigrant ethic" (e.g., Suárez-Orozco, 1991; Waters, 1997). Immigrants may work harder than locals, as they see greater opportunities in their new, rather than in their home country. Asian Americans pose another, more specific example. They have been labeled "model minorities" in the United States, as they outperform all other students in high school grade point average (for a critical comment, see section 2.4.1.1.). Their cultural advantage is "based on a collective heritage of family solidarity, individual striving, and communal sharing" (Liebkind et al., 2004, p. 637). Steinberg argued that the typical American teen, on the other hand, has a rather "cavalier attitude" towards school (1996, p. 99). Americanized immigrant children adopt this attitude. Their previous and beneficial "immigrant ethic" was thus undermined by acculturation.

However, it has also been found that some adoption of the local culture is beneficial. Bilinguals, for example, achieved more than adolescents fluent in English or very limited in English (Stanton-Salazar & Dornbusch, 1995; Feliciano, 2001). In sum, the general notion is that adolescents integrating fare better than adolescents separating from the new culture (for they may have language and adjustment problems) or adolescents assimilating to the new culture (for they lose assets from their original culture). This has been found among various immigrant samples in the United States, although it is not clear how better school completion rates are linked with biculturalism and exposure to immigrant culture (Feliciano, 2001) and whether school variables influence identity or identity influences school variables, as is assumed by Esser's model.

In terms of ethnic identity research, emphasizing achievement is believed to be intertwined with a sense of connection to one's heritage group (Branch & Newcombe, 1986).

This connection can be measured in terms of ethnic identity: Better academic achievement has been connected to a stronger ethnic identity in adolescents (Branch & Newcombe, 1986; Wong, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2003). This was also observed among West Indian and Mexican youths in the United States (Matute-Bianchi, 1991; Waters, 1994). Here, adolescents identifying with their parents' cultural origins tended to be more attached to school and attained greater academic success than their peers adopting a more Americanized ethnic identity. In a correlational study in Finland, perceived parental support promoted school adjustment by enhancing the adolescents' ethnic identities among Vietnamese immigrants and Russian repatriates (Liebkind et al., 2004).

While a relationship between school commitment and ethnic identity has been found in diverse samples, the processes underlying this relationship remain unclear (Fuligni, 1998). One explanation for the link between school commitment and ethnic identity emphasizes the role of the parents. Many African American parents, for example, stress to their children the importance of working harder in school than adolescents of other ethnic groups in order to get ahead (Phinney & Chavira, 1995). Even though the case of African Americans may be different from immigrant groups, adolescents whose families have helped them develop a bond to their ethnic group may have been socialized about the importance of working hard in school. This is an explanation for why youths with a positive orientation towards school achievement have a high ethnic identity (Wong et al., 2003).

It seems that an attachment to the original culture can be beneficial for immigrant adolescents in the United States (Feliciano, 2001). Is it also beneficial in Germany, and what is the academic situation for adolescent ethnic German immigrants in Germany? Esser's model presented above (1980, Figure 2.4) proposes that social assimilation (e.g., school commitment), is a necessary step on the way to identificative assimilation (e.g., agreement with the German category). Indeed, integration into the new school system is seen as an important requirement for participation in the main society in Germany (Dietz & Roll, 1998). Without academic achievement, occupational success is difficult to achieve. Depending on their age, some adolescent ethnic German immigrants have had schooling previous to their immigration to Germany, others have not. Because there are no official statistics, it is difficult to assess previous schooling. However, a decline in the level of education has been observed among newly arriving ethnic German immigrants since the beginning of the 1990s (Dietz & Roll, 1998). There are indices that ethnic Germans attend secondary schools ("Hauptschulen") more often than local Germans. It is assumed that young ethnic Germans have to settle for a lesser degree of schooling in Germany than they would have in the country they immigrated from (Dietz & Roll, 1998).

These findings are somewhat contradictory to research from other countries presented above, stating that many immigrants actually fare better in school than local adolescents. School attachment and academic achievement is thus of special importance and interest in the study among this particular sample. Further, school commitment and ethnic identity have not yet been investigated among adolescent ethnic Germans, and neither has the link between school commitment and ethnic self-labels.

Following the research presented above on ethnic identity among other immigrant samples, higher school commitment among ethnic German immigrants should be linked to a higher identification with the Russian or ethnic German category. The argument behind this is that parents highlight their adolescents "exceptional" status as an argument for more participation in school in order to be successful. However, this reasoning does not hold in the German context, but instead leads to the opposite assumption: Ethnic German parents often prefer their child to blend in and dislike highlighting their ethnic German status. Their background is German, they immigrated because of their being German, and their legal status is German. Being recognized as something other than German is at times regarded as a negative stigma. For this particular group, being committed to school may thus be seen as an indicator of identification with the new country, which is highly desirable by the parents. The situation of ethnic German immigrants may not be comparable to that of other immigrant groups in countries such as the United States. It is thus expected adolescents reporting more school commitment identify more with the German category and therefore self-label themselves more often as "German" than adolescents excluding the German category from their label.

Biculturalism has been found to be beneficial for other samples, and believed beneficial for ethnic German immigrants, as well. More school commitment is thus assumed to be linked with multiple self-labels including the German category. Adolescents reporting more school commitment should regard themselves more often as "German-Russian," "German-ethnic German," and "German-Russian-ethnic German" than adolescents reporting less school commitment.

Concerning the categories Russian and ethnic German, there is no reason to believe these hinder school commitment when combined with the German category, as stated above. On the contrary, research among other samples suggests that a bicultural attitude is most beneficial concerning school commitment. The "Russian" and "Ethnic German" ethnic self labels, however, reject any identification with the German category, and were thus expected to be somewhat disadvantageous in terms of school commitment. This includes their combination, namely the ethnic self-label "Russian-ethnic German." The worst school commitment, however, is expected for adolescents negating all three categories and ascribing to the "None" label. First,

they should do worse than those agreeing with the German category (solely or in any combination) as this category is believed beneficial. Second, they should do worse than those agreeing with the other categories (Russian and ethnic German), as any cultural linkage is more beneficial than none. Little school commitment may be a sign of an even broader, more general rejection of norms and values. These are expected to be reflected in the “None” self-label. The concrete hypotheses are stated in section 3.1.1.

2.3.4 Length of Residency

The acculturation process model by Esser (1980), as well as findings from ethnic identity research may explain the relationship between length of residency in the new country and ethnic identity or ethnic self-labels. Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) is less applicable, as it focuses on intergroup relations. The model by Esser defines the process leading to “assimilative identification,” which refers to national identity or a “German” ethnic self-label. In his model, this process entails cognitive, social, and identity-related assimilation on part of the migrants. Each stage in this process (e.g., acquiring language skills as cognitive assimilation) requires time. The conclusion from this model drawn in respect to length of residency and ethnic self-labeling thus is: The longer the individual resides in the new country, the higher the chances for identificative assimilation or, in other words, a “German” ethnic self-label. While this is in line with most acculturation research, as will be presented below, the model does not predict any identification other than the national one. Over time, an individual should identify more as German- but what about multiple ethnic self-labels, and what about ethnic self-labels referring to the heritage culture? For these questions, it is necessary to turn to research findings among immigrant samples.

Many studies on the formation of ethnic identity include length of residency in the new country; few, however, as a predictor variable. It is more common to control for it or to describe the sample on this dimension. It has been found that *national* identity tends to increase over time, for example among immigrants to the United States from Central America (Birman, 1998), Puerto Rico (Cortes, Rogler, & Malgady, 1994), Vietnam (Nguyen, Messe, & Stollak, 1999), or among different immigrant groups in diverse countries (Berry, 2005; Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 2000; Liebkind, 1993; Rick & Forward, 1992). This finding is applicable to adolescents, who, over time, increasingly regard themselves as members of the majority society (Liebkind et al., 2004). Further, those born within the contact culture assimilate more quickly than those born overseas (Cortes et al., 1994).

While findings concerning the increase of national identity with length of residency seem relatively robust, the matter is less clear for the decrease in *ethnic* identity (Birman & Trickett, 2001). Some report ethnic identity to decline with length of residency in the new country (Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 2000; Liebkind, 1993; Rick & Forward, 1992), while others do not find this (Birman & Tyler, 1994; Hurh & Kim, 1983). One reason for these mixed findings may be differences in the contexts of resettlement (Weinreich, 1999), which may either promote or hinder continuous identification with the heritage culture. For example, if there is a large ethnic community in the new country, this may uphold ethnic identity. If, on the other hand, there is no ethnic community and the receiving country actively promotes assimilation, ethnic identity may be more inclined to decline over time. Perceived discrimination (Rumbaut, 1994), age at migration (Tsai, Ying, & Lee, 2000), or the proportion of one's life lived as an immigrant (Mainous, 1989) have been identified as further reasons for why the relationship between length of residency and ethnic identity is not always clear.

Birman and Trickett (2001) indirectly seized the idea presented above, that the proportion of one's life lived as an immigrant may play a role in whether length of residency is related to a decline in ethnic identity. They added the variable age at immigration and argued that migration during childhood or adolescence leads to an interruption and reduced exposure to the culture of origin, which may diminish language proficiency and general cultural knowledge (Birman & Trickett, 2001). This should lead to a decrease in ethnic identity. At the same time, children are capable of quickly learning the new language, as well as cultural norms and behaviors, which should increase national identity. However, in their study among immigrants from the former Soviet Union to the United States, identification with the Russian culture was not significantly related to length of residency (and also not to age of arrival). The reason for this finding, as argued by Birman and Trickett, lies in perceived discrimination: In their sample, perceived discrimination had a substantial impact on Russian identity for adolescents over and above other variables, such as length of residency. Furthermore, the adolescents' identification with Russia was higher than that of the parents. Concerning the parents, results confirmed positive correlations with length of residency for American acculturation and negative correlations with length of residency for Russian acculturation, which may imply that acculturation to the American culture displaces affiliation to the Russian culture.

In sum, the model by Esser (1980) suggests a longer length of residency to be related to higher identification with the new country, as do several studies presented above. Concerning ethnic identity or self-labels referring to the heritage culture, findings are less clear. Surprisingly, it

may be that for younger generations, ethnic identity (referring to the heritage culture) becomes even more important than for the parent generation. This has been termed “reactive identity.” What are the findings concerning ethnic Germans in Germany?

Ethnic self-labeling among adolescent Germans has not been studied, let alone in regard to length of residency in the new country. However, ethnic Germans are Germans in the legal sense. They should assimilate to the German culture and identity, as they are believed to have returned to their home country and are here to stay. It is thus assumed that adolescents having lived in Germany for a longer period of time should agree more to the German category than adolescents having lived in Germany for a shorter period of time, and thus label themselves as “German.”

In addition to reasons “internal” to the ethnic German situation, there are also expectancies from the receiving society that exert pressure. Local Germans hold a more assimilationist view and expect ethnic Germans (and naturalized individuals in general) to adapt fully to the new country. Over time, adolescents should agree more and more to the German category; especially to the single ethnic self-label “German,” as this is the label closest to the assimilation concept. As German society only leaves space for binary ‘yes’- or ‘no’ solutions for oftentimes more complex questions of identity (Bauer, 2005), a longer length of residency should be even more related to this single label than to multiple ethnic self-labels including the German category (“German-Russian,” “German-ethnic German,” and “German-Russian-ethnic German”). For above reasons (expectancies of full assimilation), identification with the heritage culture (“Russian,” “Ethnic German,” and “Russian-ethnic German”) should over time decrease. Labels including the heritage culture are expected to “fade” due to the pressure to identify with the new culture more so than (multiple) ethnic self-labels that include the German category.

The “None” ethnic self-label should be chosen by adolescents that are not yet willing to ascribe to the German category, but are too “far” away from their heritage culture as to agree with this category. They should range somewhere in the middle of all ethnic self-labeling groups in regard to length of residency. The concrete hypotheses are stated in section 3.1.1.

2.3.5 Parental Knowledge

Does parental knowledge about the adolescent’s spare-time activities and whereabouts influence an adolescent’s ethnic self-labeling- and if yes, how is which label affected? The effect of parental involvement on identity formation during adolescence has not yet been clearly established (Sartor & Youniss, 2002). However, studies have demonstrated links between family relationships and

different stages of identity development for immigrant, as well as non-immigrant samples. This research is described first and leads to assumptions for the role of parents in the formation of ethnic self-labels among adolescent ethnic German immigrants.

As described in section 2.3, identity development has been assessed in forms of identity status, for example by Marcia (1966), or later specified for ethnic identity by Phinney and Rosenthal (1992). In these models, stages of identity confusion (Marcia) or unexamined ethnic identity (Phinney) are followed by moratorium or exploration stages that ideally lead to identity achievement. Grotevant and Cooper (1985) examined family relationships and identity *exploration*, which they assume can be facilitated within the context of relationships such as the family. Thus, they examined parent-adolescent communication and identity exploration¹⁷. Adolescents higher in identity exploration showed communication patterns to their mothers that involved higher frequencies of reciprocated separateness (expressions of the distinctiveness of self from others). Further, they demonstrated lower degrees of reciprocated connectedness (an individual's sensitivity to and respect for the views of others). The authors assume that observing and taking part in family relationships promotes clarity for the adolescent developing a sense of self. Experiences in these relationships may encourage the adolescent to explore away from the family by providing confidence and skills (Grotevant & Cooper, 1985). However, identity exploration was rated across six domains (occupational choice, religion, politics, friendship, dating, and sex roles), and conclusions for the formation of ethnic identity or ethnic self-label must be drawn with caution.

Sartor and Youniss (2002) examined the relationship between adolescent identity *achievement* and parental support, social monitoring¹⁸, and school monitoring among 10th and 12th graders from the Washington, D.C. area. To understand this relationship, Barber's model of parenting (1997) provided the theoretical background. This model proposes that a healthy child development needs three dimensions of socialization: Warmth, demandingness, and facilitation of psychological autonomy. The first dimension, warmth, is described as connectedness with significant others. This connectedness is thought to provide the child with consistent positive emotions, leading to a sense of a predictable and safe environment. Security, in turn, is crucial for exploration in identity formation- a conclusion that was also drawn by Grotevant and Cooper (1985). The second dimension, demandingness, is parental regulation of behavior. It serves as an

¹⁷The authors define identity exploration as the process in which alternatives in various domains of personal values are considered.

¹⁸ It should be noted that „monitoring“ refers here to a set of variables Kerr and Stattin (2002) termed „parental knowledge“ rather than monitoring. Items in the study by Sartor and Youniss (2002) asked, for example, how much parents know about social activities such as who the friends are, how the adolescent spends his or her money, what is done in the afternoon after school, and what the adolescent does in his or her spare time.

induction into the norms of society through teaching appropriate conformity. “Because parents socialize their children through the establishment of rules and communication patterns in the family, the degree and quality of parental control and involvement have a major impact on the adolescent development” (Sartor & Youniss, 2002, p. 222). The third and last component, facilitation of psychological autonomy, is achieved through parents’ responsiveness to the adolescents’ need to separate from the parents. Optimally, parents provide flexible structures in which adolescents can securely engage in identity exploration without sacrificing relatedness (Allen, Hauser, Bell, & O’Connor, 1994).

Results showed support, social monitoring, and school monitoring to be significantly and positively correlated with identity achievement for males and females in both 10th and 12th grade. More specifically, support was shown to be the strongest predictor, followed by social monitoring, school monitoring, and grade. Gender, on the other hand, was not adding to the prediction of identity achievement (Sartor & Youniss, 2002). The authors concluded that adolescence as a period of exploration needs a secure base to which the adolescent can return. This safe base is established through parental support and involvement, which is crucial to identity achievement (Sartor & Youniss, 2002).

Both studies described above show that parent-child relationships have a positive impact on the development of identity in adolescence. While communication patterns were assessed in the first study by Grotevant and Cooper (1985), parental support and monitoring were assumed influential for the development of identity in the study by Sartor and Youniss (2002). However, Sartor and Youniss (2002) also state that scales used to measure monitoring in their study were determining the more general communication patterns between parents and adolescents. How exactly parents derived information from their children was not addressed in the items, which leaves the possibility that they volunteered information, rather than being monitored (Kerr & Stattin, 2002). The general notion in both studies is that good parent-child relationships, for example assessed through communication patterns, are a sign for a secure and safe “home base,” which in turn is needed for an adolescents’ ability to explore his or her identity. Although these results were obtained from middle-class Caucasian American adolescents, the process of cultural or ethnic identity exploration may be similar.

In fact, it has been argued that the family context is also important in establishing and maintaining *ethnic* identity (Rosenthal & Cichello, 1986). Individuals first experience their ethnic culture through the parents. Whether they reject or retain their original culture may be evaluated by the child as a statement of the value of the group. “These primary socialization processes initiate a sense of group membership, facilitating the process whereby important cultural values

and behaviors become a part of the individual's self-definition" (Rosenthal & Cichello, 1986, p. 488). In their study among Italian-Australian adolescents, parents' identification with the Italian as well as with the Australian culture predicted adolescent's ethnic identity. Parental identification with the culture of origin (Italy) was the stronger predictor and associated positively with the adolescent's sense of ethnic (Italian) identity, while parental host culture identity (Australian) was negatively associated with the adolescent's ethnic identity. This is in accordance with the statement that the role of parents in ethnic identity formation is usually seen in transmitting the heritage culture's norms and values to the next generation (Javo, Alapack, Heyerdahl, & Ronning, 2003). Greater consciousness of the heritage culture's core values may reinforce the adolescents' pride and sense of belonging to his or her ethnic group. In other studies, for example, the transmission of values and norms has been linked to variables such as family integrity (Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2002) or parenting practices (Rosenthal & Feldman, 1992).

Having a closer look at parenting practices and their relationship to ethnic identity, Rosenthal and Feldman (1992) investigated four types of parenting behavior. According to the authors, warmth, control, monitoring, and autonomy-promoting have been identified in the child development literature as parenting styles leading to positive child outcomes. But how do they relate to positive ethnic identity in minority adolescents? It is assumed that in a household where these four parenting behaviors are practiced, parents are positive role models for the adolescents. Thus, adolescents may internalize not only the parenting practices, but also other characteristics of their parents- including identifying with their ethnic culture. Further, it is assumed that identifying with the ethnic group is determined by factors such as attitudes of peers and the adolescents' own personality. These factors, however, are not independent of parental practices, but rather influenced by them (Feldman & Wentzel, 1995; Putallaz, 1987).

Even though Rosenthal and Feldman (1992) predicted that the evaluative component of ethnic identity depends on parental warmth, control, involvement, and autonomy-promoting behavior, but that the behavioral/ knowledge component does not, we argue that these two are closely linked and that pride in belonging to an ethnic group must co-exist with the cognitive component. How should an individual be proud of his or her ethnic group membership, when there is no sense of regarding oneself as a member? However, at the level of simple correlations, all four parenting behaviors correlated significantly with ethnic pride, but not the behavioral or knowledge component. The latter two components were combined in the study by Rosenthal and Feldman (1992), which might have led to the missing relationship. All parenting behaviors except for "monitoring" made a unique contribution to adolescent's positive evaluation of their ethnicity

when multiple regressions were conducted. That monitoring did not add significantly to the predictive power of parenting behavior was attributed to its shared variance with control.

Monitoring has been regarded as parents' tracking and surveillance of children's behavior. However, monitoring measures typically (and in the study by Rosenthal and Feldman, as well) assess parents' knowledge, but not its source (Stattin & Kerr, 2000). Parental knowledge comes not from parental control or supervision alone. Rather,

parents who are good monitors have made the effort to establish channels of communication with their child, and as a result of their relationship with the child, they are knowledgeable about the child's daily experiences. In order to be an effective monitor, however, parental interest is not enough: A child must be willing to share his or her experiences and activities with the parent. Seen in this light, parental monitoring is a relationship property (Pulkkinen, 1982, p. 656).

Part of what makes a relationship between parents and children is on the one hand the parental effort to gain knowledge about the child's behavior, and on the other hand the child's willingness to disclose such information and to include the parents in their lives (Kerr & Stattin, 2000). While good parent-child relationships, in turn, have generally been found to be strongly related to adolescents' ethnic identities (Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 1998; Rumbaut, 1984), the positive relationship between parental knowledge and ethnic identity has not yet been shown. However, results by Sartor and Youniss (2002) clearly support the notion of a link in a non-immigrant sample, and the missing relationship in the study by Rosenthal and Feldman (1992) was possibly due to methodological reasons.

Returning to our original question in this section: Is ethnic-self labeling among adolescent ethnic German immigrants influenced by parental knowledge and if yes, in which direction? It is known that the family plays a major role for young ethnic German immigrants. It is important emotionally after immigration, when the adolescent is surrounded by a foreign environment. At the same time, the family shares a common past in the country of origin. Most of the time, however, parents cannot help their children orient themselves in the new culture (Dietz, 2003). Children pick up the language easier through school, for example, and at times end up helping the parents. One participant of our interview study, Linda (20), explained: "In the beginning, my mother supported me. But after eighth grade, I had to help her." Acculturation occurs at a different pace for family members and as a result, familial structures change in comparison to

prior times. Usually, immigrant children and young adults acculturate quicker than older family members. This difference in development, adding to normative family changes during adolescence, may cause tensions in the family (Silbereisen et al., 1999). Still, the emotional stability parents give their children should not be underestimated (Dietz, 2003).

Whether parenting styles, and especially monitoring, are related to ethnic self-labels among adolescent ethnic Germans or any other minority group has not yet been researched. With respect to the findings of Rosenthal and Feldman (1992), a connection between parental knowledge and ethnic self-labels, however, is expected. Immigrant children are linked to their communities directly, as well as through their families. Both links result in a greater sense of identification with the ethnic community (Liebkind et al., 2004). It should be remembered that for this dissertation and in accordance with other studies among ethnic German immigrants, we have defined German as the new culture and out-group, and Russian as well as ethnic German as referring to the ethnic or heritage culture and in-group (section 2.2.6). Additional reasons for this classification can be found below. However, this definition applies to the adolescents. The situation of the parents is depicted in the next paragraphs.

In the case of adult ethnic German immigrants (=the parents of the participating adolescents), the situation may be more complicated, as the ethnic community may be either German or Russian. By definition, at least one parent has to be of German ethnicity, which could mean that this parent links the adolescent to the German community. However, the elements that are thought to be the link to the ethnic community are language, values, and customs (Phinney, Romero et al., 2001). Jasinskaja-Lahti and Liebkind (2001) propose, for example, that the maintenance of traditional family values provides the adolescent with a sense of psychological security and cultural continuity. If it is assumed that ethnic German parents link their children to their German identity, continuity would imply they have done so already before immigration. Concerning language, however, it was mostly the generation of the grandparents, and not the parents, that taught the adolescents elements of German (Dietz & Roll, 1998). This means that in most cases, Russian was the adolescents' first language and the language spoken at home. Further, only 21.7% of interviewed adolescents in the study by Dietz and Roll (1998) reported maintenance of German customs in their families when still living in countries of the former Soviet Union. Additionally, these traditions were mostly celebrations of religious holidays such as Christmas or Easter (Fuchs et al., 1999), and not part of daily life. Thus, it can be argued that ethnic German parents did not connect their children to the German ethnicity when still living in countries of the former Soviet Union. Indeed, 41.1% of all ethnic German adolescents in the

above mentioned study stated that before immigration, they knew they were ethnic German because they had German ancestors. German language or German family traditions, on the other hand, played only a minor role.

Even though parents of these ethnic Germans did not transmit German culture to their children before immigrating to Germany, it may be that they try to do so after immigration. On the one hand, it can be assumed that they had integrated into the Russian lifestyle and will link their children to the Russian culture after immigration. On the other hand, the wish to make Germany the new, permanent home for their children may push them towards the German category. Parents of ethnic Germans from former Soviet Union countries are increasingly multicultural. In one study, 39% of the adolescents had one non-German parent (Dietz & Roll, 1998). In most cases, these non-German parents were of Russian origin (86%). This Russian parent may additionally mean higher identification with the Russian category, whereas the German context may mean higher identification with the German category. In this sense, it could be that the transmission of heritage culture's norms and values refers to the Russian culture, but that the special situation of ethnic Germans in Germany also leads to a favorisation of local German norms and values. High parental knowledge should then be related to higher identification with the culture of origin (Russia), as well as a higher identification with the new culture (Germany).

Disentangling which identity adolescent ethnic German immigrants are linked to through their parents (Russian or German) is difficult, though most likely it is the Russian culture. However, it may also miss the point. In the sense of Phinney's ethnic identity model (1993), the important matter is that parental knowledge as an indication for a beneficial parent-child relationship helps the adolescent in the formation of a positive ethnic self-label- whether it is Russian, German, ethnic German, or any combination. Little parental knowledge, on the other hand, may be an indicator for the formation of an unfavorable ethnic self-label. In this sense, we phrase our assumption in the manner that poor parent-child relationships, expressed through little parental knowledge, have a negative effect on the adolescent's identity development and thus are related to the formation of less beneficial ethnic self-labels, for example the label "None" that excludes all categories. In sum, more parental knowledge is expected to be related higher agreement with the Russian category, whereas less parental knowledge is expected to be related to higher agreement with the "None" label.

It has further been argued that positive parenting is related to identity exploration among adolescents. Concerning national identity, for example, there is no reason to believe that good relationships between parents and their adolescent children among this immigrant group should

not also provide the safe home base needed for identity exploration as stated in the studies conducted with non-immigrant samples above. As many ethnic German parents prefer their children to blend into the new country, they may connect them to the heritage culture Russian, but encourage exploration of the German category. This could result in multiple ethnic self-labels: The adolescent feels free to safely explore several options of his or her identity, and these may include the German and ethnic German category, as well. In addition to being linked to higher agreement with the Russian category, we thus expect more parental knowledge to be positively related to the ethnic self-labels “German-Russian,” “German-ethnic German,” and “German-Russian-ethnic German.”

Negative relationships between parental knowledge and agreement to ethnic self-labels are expected for the ethnic German category: Adolescents in our interview study report not having known much about being an ethnic German and what this means before immigration to Germany. Their parents thus do not seem to link them to this category. Further, since it is expected that parents encourage exploration concerning the German category, less parental knowledge is also presumably linked to higher agreement with the multiple ethnic self-label “Russian-ethnic German.”

In sum, parental knowledge may be linked to all kinds of ethnic self-labels, for example including the Russian or German category. What if there is little parental knowledge concerning the child? Rather than linking parental knowledge to assumedly beneficial ethnic self-labels, we propose that little parental knowledge has the most negative effect on a) the connection to one’s heritage culture and b) on the sense of belonging to the new culture. It should thus be especially related to those adolescents that disagree with all three categories and label themselves as “None.” The concrete hypothesis is depicted in section 3.1.2.

2.3.6 Perceived Discrimination

Discrimination is part of daily life for many minority ethnic groups (Romero & Roberts, 1998) and for ethnic German immigrants as well (Dietz, 2003). In Germany, 64.4% of adolescent ethnic Germans claimed to have been disadvantaged at some point (Strobl & Kühnel, 2000). The topic of discrimination has received much attention in acculturation research, as the quality of contact between ethnocultural groups is regarded as one of its basic issues (Berry et al., 2002).

In social psychology and related areas, discrimination is defined as “the unequal treatment of individuals or groups based on arbitrary characteristics such as race, sex, ethnicity, cultural background, etc.” (Reber, 1985, p. 205). For immigrants and their adaptation to the new environment, it seems self-evident that perceived discrimination has strong negative effects. It

has been shown, for example, that perceived discrimination decreases well-being (e.g., Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999; Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000a, 2000b; Phinney & Chavira, 1995), school performance (e.g., Liebkind et al., 2004; Verkuyten & Brug, 2003), and self-esteem (e.g., Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 2001; Verkuyten & Nekuee, 1999). Perceived discrimination is also thought to influence the formation of identity in immigrant adolescents (e.g., Verkuyten, 2002).

Two lines of research predict the relationship between discrimination and ethnic identity. In social psychology, Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) argues for a positive association between the two: Perceived discrimination should lead to a higher identification with the in-group (Branscombe et al., 1999). One reason for this is an increase in the desire to belong. If devalued group members believe that fair treatment and acceptance from the majority group is unlikely, identifying with the minority group may be regarded as the best strategy to feel accepted “somewhere.” Because exclusion is painful, inclusion and identification with the minority group may serve to enhance well-being and is thus chosen. Studies using a variety of groups, for example Jews (Dion & Earn, 1975), women (Dion, 1975), African Americans (Thompson, 1990), and Hispanics (Chavira & Phinney, 1991) support the idea that recognition of prejudice and discrimination is associated with higher levels of group identification.

A second reason for increased in-group identification following perceived discrimination may be that a strong identity shapes cognition and makes the differences between the groups salient. This, in turn, leads to an increased awareness of ethnic-relevant information - such as discrimination (Branscombe et al., 1999). As can be seen in this reasoning, the direction of the effect is not clear. It might well be that either variable influences the other (discrimination influencing identity or vice versa), or that the relationship is reciprocal. In the case of ethnic Germans, social psychology thus predicts perceived discrimination to enhance identification with the Russian and/or ethnic German group.

In developmental psychology, a close relationship between discrimination and ethnic identity is also expected, but mainly in late adolescence (Verkuyten, 2002). Phinney’s three-stage model of ethnic identity development (1993), for example, assumes an achieved or committed ethnic identity to be formed through a period of exploration. In the first stage of development (unexamined stage), ethnic identity is predominantly influenced through family or other adults and not related to discrimination. This is supported by a study among immigrant children aged ten to twelve in the Netherlands (Verkuyten, 2002). In the second stage (exploration stage), however, an individual begins the examination of his or her ethnic background due to

experiencing rejections (or discrimination) of the dominant group. A relationship between perceived discrimination and ethnic identity is thus expected. Hence, whereas inter-group theories in general predict an association between ethnic identity and the perception of discrimination, developmental models do so especially for adolescence. Adolescent ethnic German immigrants should thus be affected, though in which direction (meaning: How discrimination affects agreement with which specific category) is not as straightforwardly hypothesized as in social psychology models.

Empirical studies on the effect of perceived discrimination on ethnic identity among immigrants are scarce and results contradictory (Liebkind et al., 2004). For example, Ruggiero, Taylor, and Lambert (1996) found perceived discrimination to decrease ethnic identity, whereas Verkuyten and Nekuee (1999) reported the opposite. Nevertheless, most authors agree on a close relationship between ethnic identity and discrimination (e.g., Keefe, 1992; Phinney, 1990), even if, as mentioned above, the direction of this effect is not clear.

Studies investigating the relationship between perceived discrimination and ethnic self-labels among young ethnic German immigrants have not been conducted. Both social and developmental psychology theories, as well as empirical findings support the assumption that the two should be linked in this immigrant group as well. A common form of discrimination in Germany, for example, is calling an ethnic German a “Russian.” (Oftentimes, local Germans cannot or do not distinguish between ethnic Germans from Russia and Russians from Russia). This is experienced as a derogatory remark. Verbal discrimination in this sense should then highlight the immigrant status and make the Russian or ethnic German category more salient¹⁹. Another aspect is that local Germans expect ethnic Germans to assimilate to their new country (Strobl & Kühnel, 2000). Adolescents failing to do so (for example by not regarding themselves as German) may experience more discrimination than those complying (for example by adopting the “German” label).

Following predictions made by Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), we assume that adolescents experiencing more discrimination label themselves more often as “Russian” or “Ethnic German” than adolescents perceiving less discrimination. In the same line of reasoning, the multiple self-label “Russian-ethnic German” is presumably chosen more often by adolescents who experience more discrimination than those experiencing less. This is in accordance with

¹⁹ Ethnic German (“Aussiedler”) is a political term and implies being ethnically German, but returning from a Eastern European country. Thus, ethnic German implies a kind of immigrant status. It is experienced as a more neutral term.

findings associating perceived discrimination with less willingness to adopt the new culture identity (Mainous, 1989). Adolescents reporting less perceived discrimination, on the other hand, should label themselves more often as “German.”

Concerning adolescents ascribing themselves to multiple self-labels including German and one or both of the other categories (Russian and ethnic German), it may on the one hand be that perceiving discrimination absolutely hinders any identification with the German category. “A pattern of stable attributions to prejudice is likely to reflect systematic and unfaltering exclusion and rejection on the part of the dominant group” (Branscombe et al., 1999, p. 136). The argument could, for example, be as follows: It does not make sense for Germans to discriminate other Germans because of their ethnicity. If one becomes a victim of discrimination, one cannot be German. Or one does not *want* to be a member of a group that discriminates against others like oneself. Following this reasoning, which is derived from Social Identity Theory, a multiple self-label including German plus Russian and/ or ethnic German is unthinkable after experiences with discrimination. On the other hand, individuals may also perceive discrimination against just one fraction of themselves, namely the Russian or ethnic German part. The argument could then be, for example: Being a victim of discrimination by Germans happens because the perpetrator did not know one was German. Speaking Russian with a friend and then being discriminated against could be such a situation in which additional German group membership is unclear for the environment. It is thus possible to perceive discrimination, but still feel German plus Russian and/ or ethnic German. After all, discrimination cannot change the fact that one holds the German passport. The concrete hypotheses are stated in section 3.1.2.

2.3.7 Successful and Less Successful Immigration

The variables regarded as relevant for the formation of ethnic self-labels (German language use, percentage of local German friends, school commitment, length of residency, parental knowledge concerning the child’s spare-time activities and whereabouts, as well as perceived discrimination) are thought to stand for successful and less successful immigration. These variables are thus rank-ordered in terms of the two general principles, successful and less successful immigration.

The first principle implies that successful immigration to Germany requires some form of identification with or sense of belonging to the German culture and adoption of respective behaviors. Translated to ethnic self-labels, choosing the label “German” (either solely or in combination with any other category) should be beneficial to the individual, implying culture learning. There are two major reasons for this assumption. One is the notion that adolescents remaining detached from their new country face multiple problems, such as less well-being or less

successful employment chances. Indeed, studies have supported this notion, for example Schmitt-Rodermund and Silbereisen (2003). Thus, being detached is harmful, whereas a sense of belonging should be beneficial. And in fact, national identity, though studied less than ethnic identity, has been related to psychological well-being (e.g., Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999).

The second reason for the assumption that successful immigration to Germany requires some culture learning is the belief that Germany was not considered an immigrant country by local Germans, a perception that is changing only slowly. How and if immigrants should integrate is a matter of ongoing debate. Generally, however, immigrants are expected to assimilate, which implies participating fully in the mainstream culture and distancing oneself from the heritage culture (Zick et al., 2001). Adolescents complying with this expectancy of members from the receiving country are anticipated to fare better than those resisting participation, as this is the better match that causes less tensions between the groups. Further, parents of ethnic German adolescents usually wish them to blend in and be “German amongst Germans” (Fuchs et al., 1999). This should lend support to the German category. Adolescent ethnic German immigrants involved in the German culture should logically label themselves as at least partly German. In sum, agreeing with the German category is seen as an indicator for positive immigration.

Which variables may stand for positive immigration? The proximity to the German category should be linked to variables that are close to the culture learning concept, such as local language, local German friends, and school commitment. Adolescents regarding themselves as German are expected to stand out in the sense that they use the German language more often, have a higher proportion of local German friends, and get along better in school than adolescents negating the German category. These hypotheses are stated in section 3.1.1.

The second principle implies that negating the German category is a sign for a less successful immigration process among adolescent ethnic German immigrants. Disagreeing with the German category or, as a matter of fact, any of the three categories simultaneously is expected to be indicator for an immigration that does not go well. These adolescents are expected to stand out in the sense that they report less German language use, a lower percentage of local German friends, less parental knowledge concerning their spare-time activities and whereabouts, more perceived discrimination, and less commitment to school in comparison to those adolescents involved in a successful immigration process. It is expected that the ethnic self-labels “Russian,” “ethnic German,” “Russian-ethnic German,” and “None” are related to less successful immigration.

This, at first glance, is contradictory to findings from ethnic identity research. A strong ethnic identity (which refers to the culture of origin) has been related to positive outcomes such

as enhanced well-being (e.g., Phinney, Horenczyk, et al., 2001). For example, feeling connected to one's heritage culture has been found to buffer against experiences of discrimination (Wong et al., 2003). Several reasons exist for why (in the German context) ethnic self-labels referring to the ethnic categories Russian and ethnic German are expected to be less beneficial than ethnic self-labels including the German category.

First, ethnic identity research has been mostly conducted in the United States. The immigration context in Germany is different from the American one. Assimilation is less expected in the U.S. than in Germany, and for most of the studied groups, it is also less of an option: They, in contrast to ethnic Germans in Germany, often differ too much from the locals in terms of phenotype (e.g., Asians or Hispanics). Put simply, if one cannot change one's visibility as a non-local, it is best to accept one's heritage and develop a sense of pride. In the case of adolescent ethnic German immigrants, remaining fully detached requires more of an active effort, as official policies, schools, and presumably parents as well push more towards an assimilation.

Second, it is not implied that all adolescents agreeing with the Russian or ethnic German category are prone to less successful immigration. Multiple ethnic self-labels that include the German, as well as the Russian and/ or ethnic German category, are also expected to do well. As healthy as identifying with the ethnic category may have been found in other countries, it is assumed here that it cannot be positive for the individual if the new culture is completely rejected. This is not at all contradictory to ethnic identity research, where in most cases, it is simply not tested whether maybe a multiple identity is best. If national identity is examined, as well, it usually yields additional positive results.

Third, ethnic identity research does not refer to a specific, beneficial identity. How an adolescent refers to him- or herself is usually not matter of the investigation, but rather, how achieved this identity is. For this dissertation, however, the content of the ethnic identity (the specific category or self-label) is examined. It is assumed that some are more beneficial than others, independent of the (unknown) stage of identity development. Thus, the aim differs from ethnic identity research, so that those findings cannot unconditionally be transferred to this research and this sample.

In sum, the second principle implies that perceived discrimination and less parental knowledge are related to less successful immigration that show through ethnic self-labels negating the German category ("Russian," "Ethnic German," "Russian-ethnic German," and "None"). Hypotheses are stated in section 3.1.2.

2.4 Consequences of Ethnic Self-Labels

It has been suggested that identification labels (e.g., national labels such as Mexican or Chinese; panethnic or combination labels such as Latino or Asian American) have important implications for children's adjustment (Fuligni, 1998). We propose that ethnic self-labels among ethnic German immigrants are also related to adaptation. As only few studies have investigated the association between specific self-labels and adjustment, it is again necessary to borrow from general identity research. Several questions are addressed in this section: First, what is regarded as adjustment or adaptation? Second, how do immigrant children and adolescents adjust to their new environments? And third, how can ethnic self-labels be related to this adjustment? More specifically, the relationship between ethnic self-labels and depressive symptoms (as one aspect of psychological adaptation), and of ethnic self-labels and delinquent behavior (as one aspect of sociocultural adaptation) are investigated here.

Before turning to these questions in the next sections, one important fact that is relevant for any investigation of adaptive outcomes among immigrant samples should be mentioned: All children and adolescents, regardless of whether they are immigrants or not, share the same basic needs (Hernandez & Charney, 1998). For the explanation of depressive symptoms and delinquent behavior, for example, this means that most probably, models explaining their occurrence for non-immigrant samples are applicable to immigrants, as well. However, conditions associated with the immigrant status (additionally) have consequences. Schmitt-Rodermund and Silbereisen (2003) have referred to this distinction between factors relevant for all adolescents and factors relevant especially for immigrants as "adolescence-typical" and "acculturation-specific" problems. This will be considered throughout this chapter.

2.4.1 Psychological and Sociocultural Adaptation

Adaptation refers to the long term outcome of psychological acculturation and can be seen as changes taking place as individuals or groups respond to external demands (Berry, 2003). It may or may not be positive in valence, ranging from well-adapted to maladapted (Berry, Kim, Power, Young, & Bujaki, 1989; Neto, 2002). Adaptation is multifaceted, distinguishable in psychological and sociocultural adjustment²⁰. The former (psychological adjustment) refers to psychological or emotional well-being, and is measured, for example, as depression, anxiety, or psychosomatic symptoms. The latter (sociocultural adjustment) pertains to the ability to "fit in" or to negotiate

²⁰ In 1996, Aycan and Berry introduced a third facet to acculturative outcomes: economic adaptation. They claimed economic adaptation to be predicted by variables such as migration motivation, perception of relative deprivation, and status loss at first entry into the work world.

interactive aspects of the new culture and to manage daily life in the new context (Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999). It is measured, for example, as behavioral problems such as delinquent behavior (e.g., Berry, 2005; Vedder, 2005).

Research has indicated that the two adjustment outcomes, although empirically related, are conceptually distinct (Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999; Berry, 2003). First, they tend to be predicted by different variables. For example, psychological adjustment is predicted by personality variables, life change events, or social support. Sociocultural adjustment is predicted by cultural knowledge, degree of contact, and intergroup attitudes (Berry, 2003). Second, they usually have different time courses. Psychological problems tend to increase soon after contact, followed by a decrease over time. Sociocultural adaptation, on the other hand, typically improves linearly with time.

Adaptation, whether psychological or sociocultural, is part of the acculturation process an immigrant undergoes. A framework for the understanding of acculturation differentiates between the individual (or psychological) and the cultural (or group) level (Berry, 2003; Figure 2.5). At the individual level, the term psychological acculturation refers to “psychological and behavioral changes that an individual experiences as a result of sustained contact with members of other cultural groups” (Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999, p. 423). At the group level, acculturation means direct or indirect change occurring for the groups in contact. Both levels should be distinguished, because an individual interacts with the cultural context within which his or her behavior takes place. Further, not every person enters, participates, or changes in cultures the same way. Vast differences exist in psychological acculturation (Berry, 2003), and thus in adaptation processes.

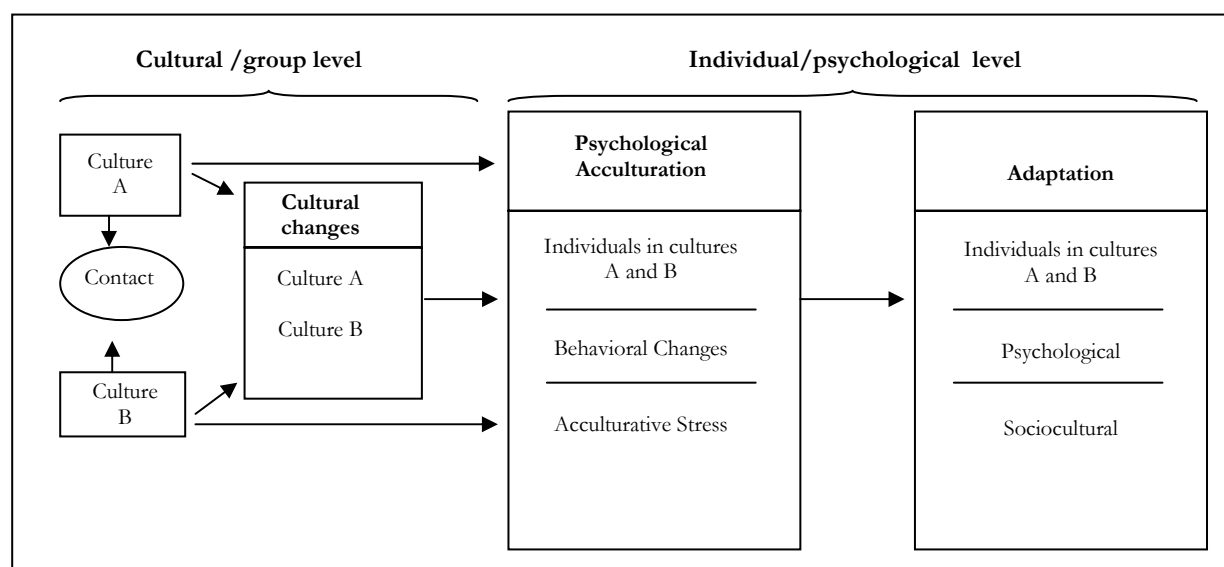


Figure 2.5. A framework for understanding acculturation (Berry, 2003).

The model above serves as a map of phenomena to be conceptualized and measured when conducting acculturation research. At the cultural/ group level, key attributes of the two original cultures (A and B) prior to contact, their relationship, and the resulting changes are presented. At the individual/ psychological level, psychological changes that individuals in all groups undergo and their adaptations to the new situations are examined.

Beginning at the cultural/ group level on the left hand side of the model, one important construct is “cultural distance.” Cultural distance refers to the dissimilarity of two cultures, for example in language, religion, political system, and so forth. It has been found that greater cultural distance is related to poorer adaptation (Ward & Kennedy, 1992; Ward & Searle, 1991). Greater cultural distance causes more culture conflict, as the amount of change (“culture shedding”) required of the group members is larger than between similar groups (Berry et al., 2002).

Moving on to the right hand side of the model, the psychological/ individual level consists of psychological acculturation and adaptation. Psychological acculturation refers to the maintenance or change in customary practices and behaviors as a result of the contact between groups. These changes may overstrain the individuals (Berry & Ataca, 2000), resulting in acculturative stress²¹. Basically all aspects of behavior are subject to change. These behavioral changes may occur as (a) culture shedding and (b) culture learning (Berry, 1992). Culture shedding describes the loss of existing cultural or behavioral features after contact (Berry et al., 2002). Culture learning implies new behaviors adopted from the new culture. In terms of ethnic self-labeling, in this study culture shedding could be seen as negating the Russian category; culture learning as adopting the German category. The ethnic German category represents a stable legal status and should be less prone to changes over time.

2.4.1.1 Adaptation of Immigrant Children and Adolescents

Immigration may be associated with psychological disturbance in children (Kolaitis, Tsiantis, Madianos, & Kotsopolous, 2003) and psychological acculturation may involve stressful factors (Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 2001). For this reason, adaptation to a new environment is thought to induce stress: Not yet speaking the majority language, for example, places children at risk for academic difficulties, low self-esteem, or depression (Kolaitis et al., 2003). However, there is also evidence that many children are resilient to the stress immigration poses. Children from immigrant families in the United States, for example, demonstrate a remarkable level of general adjustment: They often appear to be better off than their peers from American-born families (Fuligni, 1998; Hernandez & Charney, 1998). The National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent

²¹ Acculturative stress is often linked to depression or anxiety, and similar to the concept of “culture shock.”

Health analyzed data from more than 20,000 adolescents across the United States. It revealed that first and second generation youths from immigrant families were less likely to engage in delinquent and violent acts, or to use drugs and alcohol, compared to their American peers (Harris, 1999). Although findings from the same research suggested that psychological health is a more complex issue, there is little evidence that the immigrant group in this country suffers the great distress commonly expected.

Recent research, however, points to the fact that there are several restrictions in the comparability of such findings. First, not all immigrant groups can simply be lumped together, and terms for certain immigrant groups are often imprecise. In the United States, for example, the term “Hispanics” alone subsumes Cubans, Central Americans, Mexican Americans, Spanish-speaking residents of Southwest United States that have populated the area since the 1600s, Latin Americans from different indigenous, African, and European backgrounds, and Puerto Ricans (Erkut, Szalacha, Coll, & Alarcon, 2000). “Hispanic is not a meaningful research population without further delineation into national-origin based sub-groups or by important demographic and social stratification variables such as education, recency of immigration, urbanization of residence, socioeconomic class, education, or occupation” (Erkut et al., 2000, p. 341). Further, there are status differences between immigrant groups that may influence the acculturation process. In their qualitative study conducted in New York City, for example, tensions were reported between Puerto Rican and Dominican adolescent immigrants (Way, Kim, Becker, & Hughes, 2005). The former enjoy higher status among adolescents- due at least in part to a long and spectacular annual parade.

Second, even within immigrant groups from the same countries of origin there are differences. One example are tensions within the group of Chinese adolescent immigrants. Chinese American students that mostly were very young when they immigrated call themselves “ABC” (American Born Chinese). They strive to distance themselves from recent immigrants by referring to them as “FOBs,” a negatory term standing for “fresh off the boat” (Rosenbloom & Way, 2004).

Thirdly, status and adaptation of immigrant groups may change across time and generations. For example, Asian American adolescents were often referred to as a “model minority,” as they outperformed their local peers in the educational system. This lead to teachers preferring Asian American students, which in turn caused harassment from African American and Latino classmates (Rosenbloom & Way, 2004). Whether as a direct reaction to this or not, the phrase “model minority myth” has since come up from affected Asian adolescents themselves (Way et al., 2005), but has already been noted earlier (e.g., Wong, 1999). For at least one sub-

group in the United States as well as in Canada, the Koreans, it has been known even longer that their psychological well-being is less than optimal (Hurh & Kim, 1990; Noh & Avison, 1992). Korean immigrants in the United States reported higher levels of depressive symptoms than did Japanese or Chinese immigrants (Kuo, 1984).

A fourth reason for why findings cannot be generalized across different immigrant groups is that immigrants differ greatly in their reasons for migrating, as well as in the socioeconomic resources they bring to the new country (Hernandez & Charney, 1998). The acculturation process should be different if, for example, the reason for immigration is to be among family members (as often the case in the ethnic German context) or to flee civil war. In the same line of reasoning, it should also make a difference whether the parents come as unskilled workers seeking unskilled labor, or whether they are highly educated and in look for professional positions. Higher socioeconomic status is intertwined with more chances of participation in the mainstream culture. In the case of adolescent ethnic Germans, for example, not mingling with local Germans sometimes has to do with not having the financial means to join their spare-time activities (e.g., going to the movies or being member in a sporting club).

In sum, there are several reasons why results from studies conducted in one country and among one immigrant group can only cautiously be transferred to other immigrant populations in other countries. However and maybe surprisingly, it seems that a pattern of overall positive findings is largely consistent. It has been widely acknowledged that migration alone does not necessarily lead to poorer psychological adjustment among young immigrants. This can be concluded from research which distinguishes between two types of comparison: (a) immigrant adolescents contrasted with local peers; and (b) immigrant adolescents contrasted with peers from their country of origin. Several studies concerning the former comparison have been conducted in Europe and shall serve as examples here.

Research from Greece compared immigrant children age eight to twelve from countries of the former Soviet Union to a local control group (Kolaitis et al., 2003). The immigrant children did not show more psychiatric disorders than the locals, and no differences were found between the groups in social adaptation. These results were obtained even though the immigrant children had academic disadvantages, especially in subjects requiring language knowledge such as reading, writing, and spelling. The authors concluded that the immigrant children adjusted to the new country in an overall satisfactory manner (Kolaitis et al., 2003). These results were explained firstly by the positive expectations and image the immigrants had of their new country (Greece), and secondly by the good functional stabilities of their families.

Psychological adaptation of adolescent Turkish immigrants to Sweden and Norway was compared to local groups in a study by Virta, Sam, and Westin (2004). It was reported that neither immigrant group differed significantly from their respective host national peers when demographic factors were controlled for. Thus, immigrant adolescents in this sample did not necessarily encounter more psychological problems in comparison with their local peers, even though “many of them may have difficulties negotiating the challenges of living in two cultures” (p. 22).

Self-reported problem behaviors among Turkish immigrant and non-immigrant adolescents were also compared in a study conducted in the Netherlands (Murad, Joung, van Lenthe, Bengi-Arslan, & Crijnen, 2003). Contrary to the findings from Sweden and Norway reported above, Turkish immigrant adolescents showed significantly more problem behaviors than their Dutch peers (one exception being delinquent behavior, on which Dutch boys scored higher). Differences were most pronounced on internalizing problem scales, such as “Withdrawn” and “Anxious/ Depressed.” Here as well, socio-economic measures (particularly parental education) contributed most to the explanation of ethnic differences in somatic complaints for girls, and social problem and internalizing for boys. In general, however, ethnic differences could not be explained by socio-economic status or other factors. The authors concluded that parental low education plays an important, but not exclusive role when explaining cross-cultural differences in adolescents’ emotional and behavioral problem. Rather, “culture seems to be more important for these problems” (p. 421).

Studies comparing immigrant adolescents with peers from their home country are less prevalent. Portuguese adolescent immigrants in Switzerland (Neto & Barros, 2000) and France (Neto, 1995) were compared to Portuguese adolescents in Portugal. In neither immigrant group were there differences in scores of loneliness, compared to those Portuguese adolescents that never emigrated. Below, similar findings are reported among local and immigrant Greek adolescents (Fichter, Elton, Diallyna, Koptagel-Illal, Fthenakis, & Weyerer, 1988; Fichter, Xepapadakos, Quadflieg, Georgopolou, & Fthenakis, 2004).

In Germany, the general impression of immigrant children and adolescents is controversial. For example, adolescent Greek immigrants in Germany were compared to adolescent Greeks in their home country, using the General Health Questionnaire (Fichter et al., 1988; 2004). In the first study, conducted in the 1980s, it was found that Greek adolescents in Greece scored higher on psychopathology self-rating scores than Greek immigrant adolescents in Germany. In the second study, however, which was conducted in the same manner in 1998, this

remained consistent only for depression. In both locations, psychopathology had increased and differences diminished.

In a study among adolescent ethnic German immigrants, Schmitt-Rodermund and Silbereisen (2003) found well-being and school related problems to decrease to the level of local Germans after an average of three years in the country. They reported six relevant risk factors for those individuals continuing to have problems: Low German language proficiency, arguments with the parents, parental depressive symptoms, peer rejection, involuntary migration, and no new friends.

Again, several restrictions apply when drawing conclusions from above cited studies. They differed with respect to the ethnical background of the immigrants, the receiving countries, and the measures used. It has been found, for example, that even within one and the same new culture, different factors predict the same adaptation outcomes related to different ethnic groups (Sam, 1998; Virta & Westin, 1999). Differences on some dimensions of acculturation, but not on others, were also found among immigrant groups from the same origin (countries of the former Soviet Union) to different communities in the same receiving country (United States; Birman, Trickett, & Buchanan, 2005). What can be said is that in general and across populations, the greatest adjustment difficulties usually occur at point of entry into the new country. Sociocultural problems (such as difficulties in the performance of daily tasks) then steadily decrease over time (though not generation), whereas psychological distress is more variable (Ward & Kennedy, 1996; Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999).

As can be concluded from above, adaptation of immigrant adolescents is a multifaceted and complex phenomenon (Virta et al., 2004). Restrictions concerning the comparability of results apply and there is no theoretical model for the relationship of protective factors and acculturative adaptation. However, research indicates that these factors operate at three levels: Individual, familial, and societal (e.g., Rutter, 1987). Younger age of child, emotional well-being of the parents, their support for the child and ability to adapt to the new environment, location of initial settlement in out-of poverty areas, and accommodating schools have been identified as potential protective factors for adolescent immigrants in Greece (Kolaitis et al., 2003). Ethnic and national identity have been identified as important, as they may buffer against negative or stressful environmental conditions (e.g., Neto & Barros, 2000; Phinney, 1990; Virta et al., 2004). This dissertation focuses on ethnic self-labels and adaptation, which will be examined more closely in the next section.

2.4.2 Ethnic Self-Labels and Adaptation

Even under optimal circumstances, immigrants must cope with a significant amount of life change (Vega & Rumbaut, 1991). Individuals in an acculturation context are motivated to maintain psychological well-being, possibly through the acquirement of culturally appropriate knowledge and skills (Liebkind, 2001). Relatively little research has been conducted with respect to ethnic self-labels and adaptation, even though it seems clear they have implications for adjustment (Fuligni, 1998). A positive relationship has been found between ethnic identity, of which self-labels are the cognitive aspect, and adaptation. The basic conceptual idea for this association is that identity confusion, induced through contact with a new culture, leads to stress (Berry, Kim, Minde, & Mok, 1987). Identity “clarity,” namely identity achievement, should help ease this stress.

In this sense, an achieved ethnic identity is regarded as a protective factor. Protective factors are conditions or circumstances that are associated with a reduced likelihood of negative outcomes - such as, for example, depressive symptoms or delinquent behavior. The likelihood of negative outcomes is reduced either through the direct effects of these protective factors, or because they moderate the relationship between risk factors or negative outcomes (Hernandez & Charney, 1998). Risk factors, on the other hand, are conditions or circumstances that promote negative outcomes. Protective and risk factors may be opposing ends of one continuum- for example low versus high education. To our knowledge, there is no research on whether achieved versus unexamined ethnic identity also lies on such a continuum and accordingly, whether an unexamined identity is risky. The question whether a certain ethnic self-label among adolescent ethnic German immigrants is more protective than another is addressed in the present research.

Concerning *psychological* adaptation, the question surrounding the studies of minority mental health is whether there are specific characteristics adherent to minority status that increase the risk for psychiatric symptoms and disorders (Vega & Rumbaut, 1991). Typically, this research is guided by social psychology stress theory (Pearlin, Menaghan, & Lieberman, 1981). This theory presumes certain types of stressors to fall disproportionately on certain sectors of the population. Especially those experiencing more life changes but having fewer resources available to cope with them should be affected. Minority status itself was identified as a stressor, independent of the usual socioeconomic and demographic predictors of mental health problems.

Immigrant adolescents, for example, face a challenging double bind: If they maintain their cultural heritage (e.g., Russian) over time, they risk greater discrimination and isolation from the

receiving culture (e.g., Germany). If they abandon their cultural heritage, they risk alienation and rejection from family and friends, with no guarantees of acceptance by the receiving society. During adolescence, the stresses of immigration thus are likely to be expressed as identity problems (Hernandez & Charney, 1998).

Concerning ethnic identity and several measures of well-being, some researchers have indeed found a general positive relation (e.g., Phinney, Horenczyk, et al., 2001). Positive relationships have further been found between ethnic identity and self-esteem (e.g., Kvernmo & Heyerdahl, 2003; Martinez & Dukes, 1997; Phinney, Cantu, & Kurtz, 1997). Kvernmo and Heyerdahl (2003) reported a protective effect of a strong ethnic identity on anxiety and depression, as did Ward and Rana-Deuba (1999). Both reported identification with the culture of origin as the most salient factor for psychological well-being. It was associated with a decrease in depressive symptoms and a lower incidence of psychological distress. Those who strongly identified with their culture of origin experienced less depression than did those who weakly identified with their culture of origin. National identification, on the other hand, did not significantly affect psychological well-being. Martinez and Dukes (1997) found a positive relationship between ethnic identity, purpose in life, and self-confidence. Phinney regards achieved ethnic identity as indicative of positive self-evaluations (1993). To explain this association, ethnic identity has been conceptualized as an additional resource and protective factor. It is thought that ethnic identity may buffer against the potential detriments of particular group memberships by providing adolescents with a larger repertoire of social identities. This repertoire should allow for a more successful negotiation of difficult situations, such as being faced with discrimination (Yip & Fuligni, 2002).

Concerning ethnic identity and *sociocultural* adaptation, adolescents categorized as relatively high in identity (moratorium and achieved), compared to those related as low (diffusion and foreclosure), have been found to be less likely to use cocaine, inhalants, marijuana, or hallucinogens (Jones & Hartman, 1988). An achieved sense of ethnic identity has been related to a decreased use of violence (Arbona, Jackson, McCoy, & Blakely, 1999). National and ethnic identity have been reported to protect partly against behavior problems (Kvernmo & Heyerdahl, 2003).

While it has been shown that attachment to one's ethnic group may play a positive role for the adaptation of immigrants, the processes underlying the relationship are unclear. A challenge in studying the influence of ethnicity on psychological development is that there are few specific theoretical tools already in place. Instead, researchers interested in ethnic phenomena

need to borrow from theories and conceptual frameworks in the field of child development (Wong et al., 2003). Ethnicity's influence on psychological development is thought to operate through ethnic social situations and psychological processes, such as stereotypes, experiences of ethnic discrimination, ethnic identity, and ethnic socialization (Wong et al., 2003). It may be that ethnic identities' positive role results from a sense of purpose and belonging to a larger social group. This feeling may be particularly important during the period of adolescence (Yip & Fuligni, 2002). For adolescents of color, a healthy identification with one's ethnic group, for example, is a psychological buffer against prejudice and discrimination (Wong et al., 2003)²².

2.4.2.1 Multiple Ethnic Self-Labels and Adaptation

Individuals may identify with two or more cultures (Phinney & Alipuria, 1996). More so, claiming to be bicultural, biracial, or multiethnic has become an increasingly important and growing phenomenon: "The year 2000 was the first in which Americans could identify themselves as multiracial, and seven million did so. And, in Britain's 2001 census, one of the five main categories available was Mixed Race" (Verkuyten, 2005, p. 150). Multiple categorizations also pose an option for adolescent ethnic German immigrants, who may regard themselves as German, Russian, ethnic German, or any possible combination of these categories. Whether it is more beneficial to claim a single ethnic self-label (e.g., Russian) or a multiple ethnic self-label (e.g., German *and* Russian) is a matter of recent debate in research. Theories in this area traditionally stem from social psychology, and, as argued by Verkuyten, seem to be lagging behind: "Social psychologists as a whole are not very interested in the messier categories of human affairs. As a result, social psychological approaches are not well equipped for the difficult task of describing and understanding complex identities" (2005, p. 150).

Previously, it was assumed that minority group membership (e.g., Russian) was harmful for psychological well-being, as living in two competing cultures was thought to lead to conflict and problems for the individual. Some authors argued that multiple identities are a sign for identity confusion. Identifying with multiple cultures is thus more harmful than, for example, assimilating (Neto, 2002). This idea was supported by the straight-line assimilation perspective (Feliciano, 2001). It was believed that biculturals are consistently faced with the challenge of integrating different sets of cultural demands and messages, conflicting interpersonal expectations, and the potential threats of minority status and discrimination (La Fromboise et al.,

²² The situation of African American children (in the United States) is often characterized by the same risks and foreclosed opportunities that are thought to apply to many immigrant children (Hernandez & Charney, 1998). Thus, some results from African American samples in the United States are presented in this dissertation.

1993). Culture conflict and thus poor adjustment was seen as inevitable (Rosenthal & Cichello, 1986).

Support for this assumption can be found, for example, in a study among Portuguese adolescent immigrants in France (Neto, 2002). Here, subjects labeling themselves as “Portuguese” experienced more difficulties than those favoring assimilation attitudes. The only solution for a successful adaptation was seen in assimilation to the behaviors and norms of the dominant group and rejection of the ethnic minority group membership. Multiple categorizations, for example regarding oneself as German *and* Russian, would have been seen as harmful. Indeed, biculturalism in some older studies was linked to poorer self-image (Rosenthal, Moore, & Taylor, 1983), mental health problems (Giggs, 1977), and a confused sense of personal identity (Greco, Vasta, & Smith, 1977).

However, other authors have argued that many biculturals succeed at “developing a compatible bicultural identity” despite challenges of dual cultural membership (Benet-Martinez, Leu, Lee, & Morris, 2002, p. 495). In this line of thinking, multiple identities can have positive effects for the individual (e.g., Bochner, 1982, Sam & Virta, 2001), as they can draw resources from both the immigrant community, as well as the mainstream society (Feliciano, 2001). Reasons for this, as argued by Lehman, Chiu, and Schaller (2004), may be that bicultural minorities have more “tools” at hand due to their multicultural experiences. These tools serve to interpret social situations and also to express identity. Biculturals not only maintain the strengths of their home culture, but also retain supportive social links to that culture. At the same time, they develop the language and social skills needed to successfully negotiate their new cultural setting (Hernandez & Charney, 1998). This should lead to better adaptation. So-called “mediating individuals” (Bochner, 1982) successfully integrate the minority and majority culture by adapting to different situations and thus avoiding conflict.

Sam and Virta (2001) found that immigrant adolescents had higher self-esteem when reporting high ethnic and high national identity compared to those reporting low identity on both constructs. Phinney and Alipuria (1996) made the argument that researchers have consistently found no differences between the self-esteem of multiethnic and monoethnic groups. And Clark (1991) noted that some African Americans adapt to a discriminatory environment by developing a bicultural identity.

In sum, evidence examining links between multiple categorizations and psychological adjustment yields contradictory results. Recent research suggests that a bicultural or multicultural identity is not negative for the individual. What should not be underestimated is that there are vast differences between the countries. Regarding oneself as Turkish-German in Germany, for

example, is a more problematic definition than defining oneself as Italian-American in the United States (Verkuyten, 2005). In the latter country, it is much more common and accepted that it is possible to be an in-group member (American) in different ways, than it is in Germany.

2.4.3 Ethnic Self-Labels and Depressive Symptoms

Depression has been identified as one of the most common mental health consequences for immigrants (Berry, 1997; Berry & Sam, 1997). Research indicates that culture shock and culture conflict can cause depression (Bhugra & Ayonrinde, 2004) and that mental health among immigrants may be altered because of the stress induced in the acculturation process (Berry & Kim, 1988). However, Bhugra and Ayonrinde (2004) also advised to take the time of data collection into account. Migration produces stresses, but as time goes by, the stresses induced through migration are replaced by the stresses of living in a foreign culture. Therefore, the results may be affected by the time of data collection.

2.4.3.1 Excursus: Development of Depressive Symptoms in Adolescence

The mental health of adolescents in general and immigrant adolescents in particular has received increasing attention in the recent two decades (Oppedal & Roysamb, 2004). One reason may be the relatively high prevalence rate: Depressive symptoms are found in around 30 % of high-school students (Ehrenberg, Cox, & Koopman, 1990; Manz, Junge, & Margraf, 2001; Oppedal & Roysamb, 2004). Another reason may be that adolescents who report more depressive symptoms are at a greater risk for (psychiatric) problems in adulthood (Loeber, Burke, Lahey, Winters, & Zera, 2000). For example, depression in adolescence has been linked to problems with work, smoking, substance abuse, and early pregnancy (Galambos, Leadbeater, & Barker, 2004). However, it also seems as if the majority of the immigrant youths show as much psychological well-being as their peers from the receiving society (e.g., Roberts, Roberts, & Chen, 1997).

Causes for depression among immigrant adolescents are assumed to resemble those for non-immigrants, with added acculturation-related risk factors. For example, life stresses such as major adverse life events and accumulative everyday hassles were negatively related to mental health (e.g., Berry, 1997). The most common stressors for adolescents (immigrant and non-immigrant alike) are related to school, parents, peers, and boyfriends / girlfriends (Spirito, Oveholser, & Stark, 1989). The actual number of stressors is similar for different ethnic groups, when controlling for socioeconomic status (Oppedal & Roysamb, 2004).

How individuals react to stressors is dependent upon the personal appraisal of the situation and available coping resources (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). The model stipulates that

when an event occurs, it first is appraised as to whether it is threatening or not (primary appraisal). If it is estimated as threatening, one evaluates one's resources in relation to the stressor (secondary appraisal). Resources are determined by judgments about the degree of threat, possible avoidance of the threat, and personal coping abilities (Jose & Ratcliffe, 2004).

What makes the immigration situation special in terms of depressive symptoms? First, it is assumed that migration and acculturation are stressful experiences that may cause psychological distress (Bashir, 1993; Berry & Kim, 1998). Second, it may be that the lower socio-economic status most immigrants hold in comparison with the receiving population leads to higher distress (Casper, Belanoff, & Offer, 1996), though others found this relationship to be insignificant (e.g., Oppedal & Roysamb, 2002). It may thirdly be that fewer resources (e.g., due to disrupted social networks) are available, at least in the beginning of the acculturation process. Lower levels of family support, for example, may further result from a cultural generation gap: Children acculturate faster than their parents (Phinney, Ong, & Madden, 2000), which may cause feelings of alienation in relation to the family. Additional risk factors for immigrant adolescents are perceived discrimination and ethnic identity crisis, whereas protective factors are family values, host and ethnic culture competence (Oppedal, Roysamb, & Heyerdahl, 2005). However, most studies support the notion that despite all this, immigrant adolescents mostly do not show greater depressive symptoms than locals (see section 2.4.1.1).

In general, most research points to girls having a higher prevalence of depressive disorders compared to boys (e.g., Kessler & Magee, 1993; Nolen-Hoeksema, 2001), beginning at some point in adolescence. Reasons for this may be that the frequency and stability of risk factors (such as earlier pubertal timing, ruminative coping styles, more negative body images, problems in relationships with parents and peers, little physical activity) are greater in girls (for an overview, see Nolen-Hoeksema, 1994). Others argued that girls may not necessarily experience more stressors, but that they appraise these situations as more threatening or may feel their effect more intensely (Jose & Ratcliffe, 2004).

It seems as if findings among immigrant samples concerning a gender difference in depression are less clear or even contradictory (e.g., Roberts, Attkisson, & Rosenblatt, 1998). Oppedal and Roysamb (2004), for example, found no gender variation among immigrants in Norway. Female immigrants reported the same amount of depressive symptoms as local girls. Among boys, however, immigrants reported significantly more symptoms than locals. In a further study, there was also a generation difference between boys and girls: First-generation girls and second-generation boys appeared to be especially vulnerable to mental ill health (Oppedal et al., 2005). The "immigrant health paradox," stating that first generations fare better than second and

third, was thus found among boys, but not girls. Clearly, the issue of depressive symptoms among immigrant adolescents is complicated and warrants further research.

In line with the statement above that new and ethnic culture competence serve as protective factors, there is evidence for a general positive relation between a strong, secure ethnic identity and psychological well-being among immigrants (Phinney, Horenczyk, et al., 2001; Yip & Fuligni, 2002). A strong ethnic identity has been found to have a protective effect on depression (Bhugra & Ayonrinde, 2004; Kvernmo & Heyerdahl, 2003). This positive relation was found in various samples and across different receiving countries, for example among Korean immigrants in the United States (e.g., Oh, Koeske, & Sales, 2002; Shrake & Rhee, 2004) or Turkish immigrants in Norway and Sweden (Sam & Virta, 2004).

In addition to a strong ethnic identity, multicultural identities and identity accumulation have been linked to psychosocial outcomes. For example, Horenczyk and Ben-Shalom (2001) positively related these (multicultural identities and identity accumulation) to psychological adjustment among Russian immigrants to Israel. Kvernmo and Heyerdahl (2003) studied indigenous Sami (earlier named “Lapps”) and ethnocultural Kven in Norway. Comparable to ethnic Germans in Germany, Sami and Kvens’ ethnic background is not obvious at first sight, as they do not differ from people of Norwegian origin by phenotype. The authors measured ethnic and national identity separately. The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM; Phinney, 1992) was applied for ethnic identity, whereas national identity was assessed with the single item “I describe myself as Norwegian.” This item was scored on a 5-point scale from “strongly disagree” to “strongly agree” and is thus comparable to the items used in our work. Among the Sami adolescents, neither ethnic nor national identity showed any relation to problem behaviors. However, such correlations were found among the Kven adolescents, where “stronger ethnic and national identity seemed to protect against behavior problems” (p. 61). Being able to negotiate between two cultures proved to be an asset for some adolescents. It is assumed that this holds true for adolescent ethnic German immigrants, as well. Following the thought that the German category is beneficial and multiple self-labels are, too, adolescents labeling themselves as German plus any other category should report fewer depressive symptoms than adolescents excluding the German category from their label.

Ethnic self-labels, however, are just one aspect of ethnic identity. How this specific component is linked to depression has not been investigated, so that hypotheses again need to borrow from above mentioned research results. These suggest that identifying with the culture of origin (Russian) protects against depression in immigrant adolescents. Further, results from the study by Kvernmo and Heyerdahl (2003) suggest that identifying with the new culture (German)

also protects against depression, and multicultural identities have been linked to less depression in Israel (Horenczyk & Ben-Shalom, 2001).

Translating these findings to the case of ethnic German immigrants in Germany²³ and their ethnic self-labels, this would mean that those adolescents regarding themselves as Russian, German, or a combination including the two, experience less depression compared to adolescents not labeling themselves as such. However, there is reason to believe that the Russian category does not provide the same positive effect for adolescent ethnic Germans in Germany as it does for other immigrant youths (see section 2.3.7). Returning to the principles mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, successful immigration to Germany requires some form of identification with or sense of belonging to the German culture. Translated to ethnic self-labels, choosing the label “German” should be beneficial to the individual, implying some form of culture learning. In fact, identifying with the new culture may have the same positive effect as identifying with the ethnic culture (Kvernmo & Heyerdahl, 2003). Those adolescents regarding themselves as “German” should report fewer depressive symptoms compared to adolescents excluding the German category from their label.

If ethnic and national identity have protective effects on depression (national identity more so in this particular context), as do multicultural identities, then adolescents not identifying with any of the cultures should be especially poor off. Translated to ethnic self-labels, it is expected that those labeling themselves as “None” report the most depressive symptoms. They are hypothesized to report even more depressive symptoms than adolescents not including a “German” in their label, as these have at least one other category (Russian or ethnic German) to cling to.

2.4.4 Ethnic Self-Labels and Delinquency

Commonly reported problems among immigrant adolescents in Western European societies are antisocial behavior and conduct disorders (Liebkind et al., 2004). “Ausländerkriminalität,” meaning criminality of foreigners, is a widespread term in Germany describing the public opinion that this group of people (wrongly seen as quite homogeneous) is especially prone to criminal behavior. Because of their migration background, and contrary to their legal status, ethnic Germans are often regarded as foreigners.

Whether ethnic Germans, and especially adolescent ethnic Germans, are more delinquent than local Germans is difficult to determine, since official statistics do not differentiate between

²³ Research findings concerning psychological adaptation in general suggest that adolescent ethnic Germans show acculturative stress, which refers to distress ranging from temporary unhappiness to serious depression (Silbereisen & Schmitt-Rodermund, 1999). Strobl and Kühnel (2000) found young ethnic Germans (especially females) to report lower self-esteem than young local Germans.

the two. Thus, one needs to rely on empirical (mostly self-report) studies, which give mixed results. For example, Pfeiffer, Delzer, Enzmann, and Wetzel (1998) found no differences between ethnic Germans from former Soviet Union states and local Germans. This finding changed, though, for ethnic Germans having lived in Germany for at least five years. They indeed were significantly more delinquent, though the authors presented no satisfactory reason for this (Walter & Trautmann, 2003). Mansel (2001) found no difference in delinquency between ethnic and local Germans with the exception of blackmail and burglary / robbery, which were more often reported by ethnic Germans. Adolescent ethnic Germans reported more damage to property, blackmail, threatening with a weapon, robbery, or sexual assaults for the last twelve months. Research findings showed no difference between local and ethnic Germans in the fields of somatic ailments, alcohol consumption, or deviance and delinquent behavior (Strobl & Kühnel, 2000). The latter finding was supported by a larger study among close to 10,000 adolescents in Germany (Pfeiffer et al., 1998). The popular notion that ethnic Germans show more deviant behavior and are more delinquent than local Germans could not be confirmed. Other studies support these findings (e.g., Schmitt-Rodermund & Silbereisen, 2004). However, delinquent acts seem to be increasing among younger and recently immigrated male adolescent ethnic Germans over the last years (Schmitt-Rodermund & Silbereisen, 2003).

Concerning conviction and prison stays among adolescent ethnic Germans, no quantitative studies have been conducted. Walter and Trautmann (2003) assumed that the number of foreigners and ethnic Germans behind bars well exceeds 35%. They further suggested that while in prison, a subculture (ethnic community) is formed. Especially ethnic Germans from Russia are prone to view former prisoners as role models (Otto & Pawlik-Mierzwa, 2001).

The question whether adolescent ethnic German immigrants are more delinquent than local Germans cannot be satisfactorily answered. However, within-group differences (differences between ethnic German immigrants varying on their ethnic self-label) can and will be examined in this study. While discrepancies exist regarding the amount of delinquency and victimization adolescent ethnic German immigrants exert and experience in comparison with local Germans, research regarding the causes for delinquency has profited from models and theories developed for adolescents in general.

2.4.4.1 Excursus: Development of Delinquent Behavior in Adolescence

Why some adolescents become delinquent and others not has been researched in several different fields, for example criminology, psychology, and sociology. Causes for delinquent behavior

among immigrant adolescents are believed to resemble those for non-immigrants, with added acculturation-related risk factors. A glimpse at common reasons for all adolescents and immigrant adolescents specifically is aimed at here. It is not, however, implied that immigrant adolescents in general are more delinquent than non-immigrants.

Beginning with theories applicable to adolescents in general: Some delinquent behavior is regarded as normative for this age-group (“adolescence-limited delinquency”), and only few adolescents show deviant behavior well into adulthood (“life-course persistent delinquency”; Moffitt, 1993). Reasons for adolescence-limited delinquency lie in factors specific for adolescence, such as the maturity gap (being physically fully developed, but still dependent on grown-ups), delinquent peers, or lack of parental monitoring. Those individuals that remain delinquent after adolescence tend to show disruptive behavior already in childhood (Moffitt, Caspi, Rutter & Silva, 2001) and become delinquent at a younger age (Stouthamer-Loeber & Loeber, 2002).

Psychosocial risk and protective factors have been shown to account for substantial variance in adolescent problem behavior, which includes delinquency and substance abuse. Risk factors increase the likelihood of engaging in such problem behavior by providing negative role models, opportunities for delinquent behavior, and greater personal vulnerability to involvement in delinquent behavior (Costa, Jessor, & Turbin, 1999; Elliot, Huizinga, & Menard, 1989; Jessor, Turbin, & Costa, 1998a, 1998b; Jessor, Turbin, Costa, Dong, Zhang, & Wang, 2003). For example, risk factors such as little parental monitoring, inconsistent parenting styles, and delinquent peers led to an accumulation of problems hindering an adaptive development (Schmitt-Rodermund & Silbereisen, 2003).

Protective factors, on the other hand, provide positive role models, a supportive environment, and personal or social controls against problem behavior. They can further moderate or buffer the impact of risk factors (Jessor et al., 2003). The linkage of risk and protective factors to problem behavior is robust and has been shown for several outcomes, for both genders, for different age groups of adolescents, across ethnic subgroups, across groups of varying socio-economic status, and in cross-cultural research (Jessor et al., 2003).

Added immigration-related risk factors may be discrimination, different values and norms than in the major society, and lower perceived chances of participation (e.g., in the job market) as mentioned by Schmitt-Rodermund and Silbereisen (2003). The situation of adolescent ethnic German immigrants poses many of these risks. However, it is not the case that adolescent ethnic German immigrants are more delinquent than locals: Most of them adapt well, and only a few are in need of intervention (Schmitt-Rodermund, 2003).

Pfeiffer and Wetzel (1999) reported higher delinquency among adolescent ethnic German immigrants having delinquent peers. Adolescents showed higher delinquency and more problems with drugs and alcohol if their values and norms differed from the majority of local Germans and if they perceived discrimination. They concluded that legal and ethnic reasons played less of a role in the development of delinquent behavior than perceived opportunities. Schmitt-Rodermund and Silbereisen (2003) summarized the situation of young ethnic German immigrants as such that they become delinquent either when they have already demonstrated conduct problems as children (a predictor for life-persistent delinquency) or when they live in an environment that makes the transition into adulthood difficult (a predictor for adolescence-limited delinquency). Schmitt-Rodermund and Silbereisen (2003) further stated that the life situation of adolescent ethnic German immigrants includes many of the risk factors identified in delinquency research, such as high unemployment and poorer education. Discrimination is an additional risk factor, preventing attachment to the new culture (Nauck, Kohlmann, & Diefenbach, 1997). Not feeling attached to the new culture, in turn, is one of the conditions for delinquent behavior (Schmitt-Rodermund & Silbereisen, 2003). In fact, there is some evidence that ethnic and national identity is linked to delinquent behavior. High national identity protected, and high ethnic identity showed different results depending on the immigrant sample (Kvernmo & Heyerdahl, 2003).

How may ethnic self-labels be linked with delinquent behavior among adolescent ethnic German immigrants? Following above research, labeling oneself as “German” should be connected with less delinquent behavior. A strong ethnic identity, on the other hand, showed somewhat inconsistent results concerning its relationship to delinquent behavior. Translating ethnic identity to the Russian and ethnic German categories, it may be assumed that this is linked to more delinquent behavior in Germany. Two context-related and one theoretical reason are given for this. First, not identifying with the German culture may mean that mainstream norms and values are rejected. This would make at least some delinquent acts (related to these norms, such as paying entrance fees etc.) more probable. Second, the stereotype local Germans hold of “Russians” is that they are more delinquent. If adolescents have the feeling they cannot change the prejudice about them anyway, they may be more inclined not to refrain from delinquent acts, as there is little positive feedback about this from the larger society. Finally, in the studies that linked ethnic identity to problem behavior, the correlation was negative.

To our knowledge, there are no studies explicitly investigating the relationship between multiple ethnic identities or multiple ethnic self-labels and delinquency. Since in general, there is some evidence that multiple ethnic self-labels are not harmful for adaptation, it is predicted here

that multiple ethnic self-labels including the category German are also linked to less delinquent behavior.

2.5 Summary

Three categories are relevant to the cognitive component of ethnic, cultural, or social identity in the case of ethnic German immigrants, namely Russian, German, and ethnic German. *Social* identity is defined as “that part of an individual’s self concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership in a social group (or groups), together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership” (Tajfel, 1978, p. 63). *Cultural* identity distinguishes between the heritage (or ethnic) culture and the new (or host, or national) culture. *Ethnic* identity is regarded as the subjective sense of belonging to a group or culture and can be, but does not have to be, part of cultural identity. It is part of cultural identity if the individual identifies either with the culture he or she originated from, or with the culture of the country he or she now lives in. Any newly composed identity, for example bicultural, would then be an ethnic identity that is not part of the cultural identity concept. For an individual emigrating from Mexico to the United States, for example, the heritage identity is Mexican, the national identity American, and an ethnic identity could be Mexican-American.

The case of the ethnic German immigrants in our sample is even more complicated. The national identity is German, as this is the country they now reside in. The culture, though not necessarily the country they emigrated from is Russian, which means that one could term the heritage identity “Russian.” However, by definition ethnic Germans were Germans already before moving to Germany, so that at first glance it seems odd to regard their heritage culture as Russian. Since the generation of adolescents in this sample was well integrated into the country they moved to Germany from, for example by Russian being the mother language, the Russian category is indeed defined as heritage culture for this dissertation. The third relevant category, ethnic German, is a politically ascribed term and refers to the ethnic group and thus heritage culture, as well.

For our research, we are adopting the term “ethnic self-labels” for the cognitive components (and their combinations) of ethnic German’s identity. Combinations of the cognitive component have been investigated under the Self-Categorization Theory (Turner, 1985, 1987) or as crossed categories (e.g., Crisp & Hewstone, 2001). Since factors influencing the choice of self-labels have rarely been investigated (Phinney & Alipuria, 1996), the hypotheses for our research borrow from theories and models of ethnic, cultural, and social identity, as well as acculturation

research. Smith and colleagues (2004) have identified several contexts deemed relevant for the formation of ethnic self-labels, namely culture, peers, family, society, and school / work. In this dissertation, variables from each respective context (German language use, percentage of local German friends, parental knowledge concerning the child's spare-time activities and whereabouts, perceived discrimination, and school commitment) are believed to influence the formation of ethnic self-labels, with length of residency as another specific factor. Further, ethnic self-labels may be related to adjustment among adolescent ethnic German immigrants. Based on the distinction of psychological and sociocultural adaptation, links between ethnic self-labels and depressive symptoms, as well as between ethnic self-labels and delinquent behavior are expected.

Our main research interests thus are (1) a description of (multiple) ethnic self-labels; (2) the contextual and individual correlates of (multiple) ethnic self-labels; and (3) the relationship between these (multiple) ethnic self-labels and psychological and sociocultural adaptation among adolescent ethnic German immigrants.

Depression has been identified as one of the most common mental health consequences for immigrants, presumably caused by culture shock, culture conflict, and stress induced through the acculturation process. Ethnic identity is regarded as a resource for young immigrants, conceived to provide immigrants with internal (e.g., self-esteem, sense of mastery) and external resources (e.g., community support) that enable them to cope with stresses and demands of a new culture, thus minimizing psychological distress. Successful immigration to Germany requires some form of identification with or sense of belonging to the German culture. Ethnic and national identity are believed to have protective effects on depression (national identity more so in this particular context), as do multicultural identities. Adolescents not identifying with any of the cultures ("None"-labelers) should be especially poor of.

There is evidence that national identity protects against behavior problems, whereas a strong ethnic identity predicts more behavior problems (Kvernmo & Heyerdahl, 2003). Translated to ethnic self-labels and the case of adolescent ethnic Germans in Germany, this means that a German category is positive, a Russian or ethnic German category negative in terms of the link to delinquent behavior. As the German category is assumed to be of protective nature, we assume that multiple self-labels including the German and ethnic German category are linked to less delinquency, as well.

3. Hypotheses

The general assumption is that the ethnic self-label an adolescent ascribes to is not meaningless in its content or implications, but is related to adaptation in the new cultural context. If this is so, two main research areas are of relevance. The first one concerns the determination of how ethnic self-labels are formed; more specifically: How do contextual and individual factors correlate with the formation of (multiple) ethnic self-labels among adolescent ethnic German immigrants (Figure 3.1, part 3.1)? And second, what is the relationship between these (multiple) ethnic self-labels and psychological and sociocultural adaptation (Figure 3.1, part 3.2)?

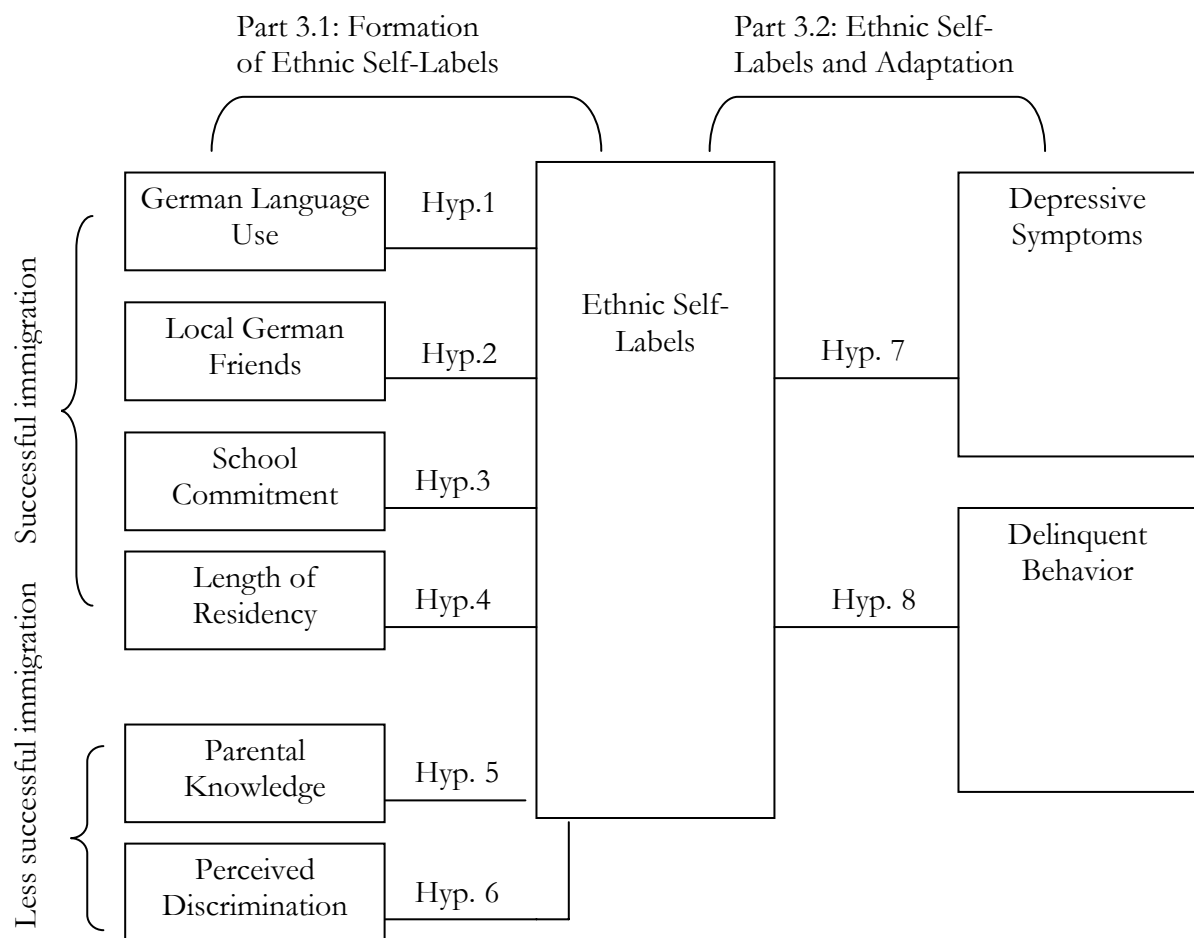


Figure 3.1. Overview of hypotheses.

3.1 Formation of Ethnic Self-Labels

Not much previous work has been conducted concerning the identification of relevant correlates of identity formation (see section 2.3). The overall choice of variables that entered the pool of predictors for this dissertation is based on theoretical assumptions drawn from identity research. (Predictor refers to the term used for this kind of variable in the applied discriminant analysis, not

to a longitudinal design of this dissertation.) Variables from the contexts culture (German language use), peers (percentage of local German friends), family (parental knowledge concerning the child's spare-time activities and whereabouts), society (perceived discrimination), and school (school commitment) were chosen, based on research by Smith and colleagues (2004). Length of residency is included as an additional factor.

Two general principles guide this research (see section 2.3.7). The first principle implies that successful immigration to Germany requires some form of identification with or sense of belonging to the German culture and adoption of respective behaviors. Translated to ethnic self-labels, choosing the label "German" (either solely or in combination with any other category) should be beneficial to the individual, implying culture learning. Which variables may stand for positive immigration? The proximity to the German category should be linked to variables that are close to the culture learning concept, such as local language, local peers, and school commitment. Adolescents regarding themselves as German are expected to stand out in the sense that they use the German language more often, have more local German friends, and get along better in school than adolescents rejecting the German category. These hypotheses are stated in section 3.1.1.

The second principle implies that rejecting the German category is a sign for a less successful immigration process among adolescent ethnic German immigrants. Disagreeing with the German category or, as a matter of fact, any of the three categories simultaneously, is expected to be an indicator for an immigration that does not go well. These adolescents are expected to stand out in the sense that they report less German language use, fewer local German friends, less parental knowledge concerning their spare-time activities and whereabouts, more discrimination, and less commitment to school in comparison to those adolescents involved in a successful immigration process. It is expected that the ethnic self-labels "Russian," "Ethnic German," "Russian-ethnic German," and "None" are mostly related to less successful immigration. These hypotheses are stated in section 3.1.2.

3.1.1 Successful Immigration

The proximity to the German category is assumed to be linked to variables that are part of a "healthy" and beneficial immigration process that includes culture learning. The relationship between each of these factors and the ethnic self-labels is depicted now, including concrete hypotheses.

German language use. We argue for three nuances among the eight ethnic-self labeling groups (see section 2.3.1) in regard to German language use. Adolescents regarding themselves as “German” (G) are expected to report the most German language use, followed by adolescents that include the German category in a multiple ethnic self-label (“German-Russian” (GR), “German-ethnic German” (GE), or “German-Russian-ethnic German” (GRE)) and those regarding themselves as “None” (N). The least German language use is hypothesized for adolescents that consider themselves “Russian” (R), „Ethnic German” (E), or “Russian-ethnic German” (RE). The order of ethnic self-labels is expected as follows: $G > GR, GE, GRE, N > R, E, RE$ (Hypothesis 1).

Local German friends. We argue for three nuances among the eight ethnic-self labeling groups in regard to local German friends (see section 2.3.2). Adolescents regarding themselves as “German” (G) are expected to report the most local German friends, followed by adolescents labeling themselves as “German-Russian” (GR), “German-ethnic German” (GE), “German-Russian-ethnic German” (GRE), or “None” (N). The fewest local German friends are hypothesized for adolescents that consider themselves “Russian” (R), „Ethnic German” (E), or “Russian-ethnic German” (RE). The order of ethnic self-labels is expected as follows: $G > GR, GE, GRE, N > R, E, RE$ (Hypothesis 2).

School commitment. We argue for three nuances among the eight ethnic-self labeling groups in regard to school commitment (see section 2.3.3). Adolescents regarding themselves as “German” (G) are expected to report the most school commitment, together with adolescents that include the German category in a multiple ethnic self-label (“German-Russian” (GR), “German-ethnic German” (GE), or “German-Russian-ethnic German” (GRE)). Less school commitment than among the previous groups is hypothesized for adolescents that exclude the German category from their label and consider themselves “Russian” (R), “Ethnic German” (E), or “Russian-ethnic German” (RE). The least school commitment is hypothesized for adolescents negating all categories and considering themselves as “None” (N). The order of ethnic self-labels is expected as follows: $G, GR, GE, GRE > R, E, RE > N$ (Hypothesis 3).

Length of residency. We argue for three nuances among the eight ethnic-self labeling groups in regard to length of residency in the new country (see section 2.3.4). Adolescents regarding themselves as “German” (G) are expected to have lived longest in Germany, followed by adolescents labeling themselves as “German-Russian” (GR), “German-ethnic German” (GE), “German-Russian-ethnic German” (GRE), or “None” (N). The shortest length of residency is

hypothesized for adolescents that consider themselves “Russian” (R), “Ethnic German” (E), or “Russian-ethnic German” (RE). The order of ethnic self-labels is expected as follows: $G > GR, GE, GRE, N > R, E, RE$ (Hypothesis 4).

3.1.2 Less Successful Immigration

Rejecting the German category may be an indicator for less successful immigration. Adolescents that do not agree with the German category should stand out in the sense that they report less German language use, a lower percentage of local German friends, less parental knowledge concerning their child’s whereabouts and spare-time activities, more perceived discrimination, and less school commitment than adolescents adopting the German category. Assumptions concerning the relationship between ethnic self-labels and German language use, as well as German peers and school commitment, have been stated in the last section.

Parental knowledge. We argue for three nuances among the eight ethnic-self labeling groups in regard to parental knowledge (see section 2.3.5). The most parental knowledge is predicted for adolescents that regard themselves as “German” (G), “Russian” (R), “German-Russian” (GR), “German-ethnic German” (GE), or “German-Russian-ethnic German” (GRE), followed by adolescents labeling themselves as “Ethnic German” (E), and “Russian-ethnic German” (RE). The least parental knowledge is hypothesized for adolescents regarding themselves as “None” (N). The expected order of ethnic self-labels is as follows: $G, R, GR, GE, GRE > E, RE > N$ (Hypothesis 5).

Perceived discrimination. We argue for three nuances among the eight ethnic-self labeling groups in regard to perceived discrimination (see section 2.3.6). Adolescents regarding themselves as “Russian” (R), „Ethnic German” (E), “Russian-ethnic German” (RE), or “None” (N) are expected to report the most discrimination, followed by adolescents labeling themselves as “German-Russian” (GR), “German-ethnic German” (GE), or “German-Russian-ethnic German” (GRE). Consequently, the least perceived discrimination is predicted for adolescents that view themselves as solely “German” (G). The expected order of ethnic self-labels is as follows: $R, E, RE, N > GR, GE, GRE > G$ (Hypothesis 6).

3.2 Ethnic Self-Labels and Adaptation

Immigration may be associated with psychological disturbance in adolescents as there are confronted with many new demands (e.g., the making of new friends, learning a new language, experiencing new customs; Berry, 1997). However, there is also evidence that many immigrant children are resilient to the stress immigration poses (see section 2.4.2). Few studies have examined the relationship between ethnic self-labels and adaptation, though this link has been established for ethnic identity and several acculturative outcomes. Accordingly, the ethnic self-label an adolescent ascribes to is believed to be related to adaptation in the new cultural context. Additionally, theories predicting whether it is more beneficial to claim a single ethnic self-label (e.g., “Russian”) or a multiple ethnic self-label (e.g., “German-Russian”) are lagging behind (Verkuyten, 2005). In this dissertation, the relationship between (single and multiple) ethnic self-labels and their relationship to depressive symptoms (as psychological adaptation) and delinquent behavior (as sociocultural adaptation) are examined.

Ethnic Self- Labels and Depressive Symptoms. We argue for three nuances among the eight ethnic-self labeling groups in regard to depressive symptoms (see section 2.4.3). Adolescents regarding themselves as “Russian” (R) are expected to report the most depressive symptoms, followed by adolescents labeling themselves as “Ethnic German” (E), “Russian-ethnic German” (RE), or “None” (N). The least depressive symptoms are hypothesized for adolescents that consider themselves “German” (G), “German-Russian” (GR), “German-ethnic German” (GE), or “German-Russian-ethnic German” (GRE). The expected order of ethnic self-labels is as follows: $R > E, RE, N > G, GR, GE, GRE$ (Hypothesis 7).

Ethnic Self- Labels and Delinquency. We argue for three nuances among the eight ethnic self-labeling groups in regard to delinquent behavior. Adolescents regarding themselves as “Russian” (R) are expected to report the most delinquent behavior, followed by adolescents labeling themselves as “Ethnic German” (E), “Russian-ethnic German” (RE), or “None” (N). The least delinquent behaviors are hypothesized for adolescents that consider themselves “German” (G), “German-Russian” (GR), “German-ethnic German” (GE), or “German-Russian-ethnic German” (GRE). The expected order of ethnic self-labels is as follows: $R > E, RE, N > G, GR, GE, GRE$ (Hypothesis 8).

4. Methods

This dissertation is part of a larger, multidisciplinary, and longitudinal study conducted in Israel and Germany called “The Impact of Social and Cultural Adaptation of Juvenile Immigrants from the former Soviet Union in Israel and Germany on Delinquency and Deviant Behavior.”²⁴ Altogether, 4037 adolescents in both countries participated in the first wave, which was conducted in the years 2002 / 2003. In Israel, 1420 adolescents were interviewed while in Germany, 2617 answered written questionnaires. The sample in Germany was composed of 1437 ethnic German immigrants, 295 foreigners, and 885 local Germans. The focus of this dissertation lies solely on the ethnic German immigrants in Germany and the data from the first wave. Unless otherwise indicated, analyses were run on the statistical software SPSS 12.01.

4.1 Participants

The sampling procedure was coordinated with the collaboration partners in Israel. It was decided to aim for 1280 immigrants in each country, matched for age and length of residency in the new country. As this dissertation does not undertake a cross-cultural comparison, details of this match are not further described.

Official statistics in Germany do not distinguish between ethnic and local Germans, so that exact numbers of ethnic German students in each school could not be obtained. Rather, schools provided approximate numbers, and additional estimations were made on the basis of other statistics such as statewide immigration numbers and, to a lesser extent, on information provided by teachers or school principals. It was estimated that at all participating schools, approximately 3280 ethnic German immigrants studied. Of these, a total of 1437 ethnic German immigrants took part in the study, which amounts to a 43.81% participation rate. This rate, however, has to be interpreted with caution: It was soon clear that the original number of 3280 students was too high, as it was mostly based on outdated official statistics and student numbers had declined. The absolute quota can thus not be specified. The students that did not participate were either not at school at point of data collection, or simply refused involvement for various reasons.

Of the 1437 ethnic German immigrants that participated in Germany, 968 adolescents remained in the sample for this dissertation. 469 were excluded from the analysis. Reasons for the exclusion were (a) due to restrictions concerning age, country of origin, and birthplace of the

²⁴ Principal investigators in Germany are Rainer K. Silbereisen and Eva Schmitt-Rodermund from the University of Jena; in Israel Zvi Eisikovitz, Gideon Fishman, and Gustavo Mesch from the University of Haifa. Funding is provided by the German-Israeli Project Coordination (DIP) and the German Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF).

adolescent, and (b) due to missing data. Specifically, participation was limited to adolescents between 12 and 19 years of age at point of the first wave of data collection. It was further restricted to adolescents that were born in countries of the former Soviet Union. In sum, 134 adolescents did not meet the criterion for age (39 were younger than twelve years of age, 95 were older than 19). Another 216 did not meet the criterion for origin (stemming from former Soviet Union states), and 77 did not meet the criterion for generation (having been born outside of Germany and thus being first generation immigrants). Concerning eliminations due to missing data, 42 of the adolescents did not answer any of the three dependent variables (ethnic self-labeling items) and were thus excluded.

Among the 968 adolescents, slightly more were female ($N = 527$, 54.4%) than male ($N = 436$, 45%). The mean age was 15.79 years ($SD = 1.93$), higher for females ($M = 16.14$, $SD = 1.95$) than for males ($M = 15.38$, $SD = 1.8$). Due to the large sample size, this age difference was significant, although it was less than a year on average, $F(1, 961) = 38.68$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$.

All adolescents originated from former Soviet Union states. The majority stemmed from Kazakhstan and Russia. The remaining participants emigrated from Kyrgyzstan (5.1%, $N = 49$), Ukraine (2.8%, $N = 27$), Uzbekistan (2.2%, $N = 21$), Tadjikistan (1.8%, $N = 17$), Moldova (0.7%, $N = 7$), the Baltics (0.7%, $N = 7$), and other countries (1.5%, $N = 15$). For statistical purposes, adolescents from other states than Kazakhstan and Russia were compiled into one category “other former Soviet Union States” (Table 4.1).

On average, participants had resided in Germany for 7.33 years (Table 4.1). No data on length of residency was given by 28 (2.9%) subjects. There was a significant difference in length of residency between adolescents from different origins, $F(2, 866) = 14.14$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$. Adolescents from Russia generally had arrived to Germany more recently than those from Kazakhstan ($p = .006$) or other former Soviet Union states ($p < .001$). Adolescents from Kazakhstan had arrived to Germany more recently than those from other former Soviet Union states ($p = .001$).

Table 4.1
Number of Participants/ Means for Length of Residency by Origin

	Country of Origin			
	Russia	Kazakhstan	Other FSU	Total
N (%)	377 (38.9)	448 (46.3)	143 (14.8)	968 (100)
M (SD)	6.62 (3.94)	7.44 (3.8)	8.81 (4.6)	7.33 (4.04)

Since 1993, 90% of all immigrating ethnic Germans stem from former Soviet Union States (Dietz, 2003). The difference in length of residency between immigrants from *different* former Soviet Union States may be explained by the difficult situation for ethnic Germans in some states such as Kyrgyzstan or northern Kazakhstan (see section 2.1). Since the 1990s, Russians and ethnic Germans alike are under pressure from the Kazakh majority to resettle, which may account for the larger number of ethnic German immigrants from these states migrating to Germany. However, no official or empirical reasons for the difference in length of residency between ethnic Germans from different countries of the former Soviet Union are given.

The large majority of participants were Protestants (54.6%, $N = 529$) and Catholics (20.2%, $N = 196$). The third largest group claimed to have no religion (11.2%, $N = 108$). Other religions named were Judaism, Orthodox, Baptist, Free-Church Protestant, Mennonites, Islam, Jehovah's Witness, Adventist and Christian, together accounting for 111 adolescents (11.5%). Additionally, 23 youths (2.5%) had missing data on the question of their religion.

4.2 Procedure

All subjects were recruited from schools in the states of Hesse, North Rhine-Westphalia, Saxony, and Thuringia (Table 4.2). The procedure for choosing these states, cities, and schools was as follows: First, it was determined that cities in which data was to be collected should a) be of similar size (in terms of inhabitants) and b) have either a high or low proportion of ethnic German immigrants. For reasons of comparability, only cities with a population of 100 000- 200 000 inhabitants were selected. High proportion of ethnic German immigrants was defined as above 7%; low proportion at below 3% of the population. However, East German states are exceptional in the sense that there are no cities of the defined size with high proportions of ethnic Germans, and low proportions of ethnic Germans in certain cities is as low as approximately 1%. Nonetheless, as this was a study that aimed at representing Germany as a whole, cities in East German states were included.

Regarding the states from which to choose cities that matched above mentioned criteria, several circumstances were taken into account. First, as the ratio of East and West German states is 1:1.6, two East and three West German states were to be included. States with the highest amount of ethnic German immigrants were chosen. In the western part of Germany, states considered were Bavaria, Baden-Württemberg, Hesse, and North-Rhine Westphalia. However, only two of these states participated in the end (Hesse and North-Rhine Westphalia), as the

others had data protection laws that would have rendered (longitudinal) studies close to impossible. In the eastern part of Germany, the two states with the highest amount of ethnic German immigrants were Saxony and Thuringia, and both took part in the study. In the end, the states in which schools participated form a belt around the country- from North Rhine-Westphalia on the western boarder to Hesse, Thuringia, and finally Saxony on the eastern border of Germany.

Table 4.2
Participants per State and City

State	City	% of ethnic Germans	N (%)
Hesse	Darmstadt	3 (estimate)	49 (5.1)
North Rhine-Westphalia	Bergisch-Gladbach	1.62	38 (3.9)
	Bottrop	3.16	11 (1.1)
	Hamm	7.22	127 (13.1)
	Paderborn	15.69	532 (55)
	Recklinghausen	2.83	71 (7.3)
Saxony	Zwickau	1.41	58 (6)
Thuringia	Jena	1.24	27 (2.8)
	Gera	1.44	55 (5.7)
Total			968 (100)

The aim was to have one city with a high, and one city with a low proportion of ethnic German immigrants in each state (again, with the exception of cities in East German states, Table 4.2). At each city, five different types of schools were matched: For each high/ low proportion city, schools for each school type were allocated and a number of students for each school calculated (Table 4.3). This calculation was based on the total number of participants aimed for ($N = 1280$) and the numbers of ethnic German immigrant students in each school. Again, these latter numbers were often difficult if not impossible to obtain, as ethnic Germans in many cases do not show up in official statistics: They are being treated – and filed- as local Germans. Therefore, these numbers in many cases had to be estimations of school officials or were obtained through other means, such as other statistics (e.g., official school statistics).

Once the cities in which data collection was to take place were chosen, permissions from state, city, and school officials had to be obtained. Overall, 66 schools were asked to participate in the study, and 54 (81.82%) agreed. The procedure of obtaining permission to collect data was to first send each school a written description of the research group, the research aims, and the data collection procedure. Then, schools were called and details of their involvement discussed (some schools, for example, asked for the questionnaire before agreeing to participate). Reasons for declining participation were logistic concerns on part of the schools. Many of them had just had data collections taking place, were undergoing construction work, or felt the study was too much of a burden for their teachers or students (for example, when final exams were approaching). In one school, however, parents voted against participation (with no further explanation given).

As soon as permission from schools was obtained, parents were informed in writing and could reject their child's participation. Students took part voluntarily during regular school hours. They were assured of the confidentiality of their answers. The questionnaires were handed out by research assistants, and teachers were not present. Students were recruited at five different school types, most of them at secondary schools ("Realschule") and comprehensive schools ("Gesamtschule"; see Table 4.3). Schools were selected by type and on the basis of numbers of current ethnic German students. With the exception of occupational schools, grades five through twelve participated. At occupational schools, classes were selected at random.

Table 4.3
Participants per School Type

	Secondary School (“Hauptschule”)	Secondary School (“Realschule”)	Gymnasium	Comprehensive School (“Gesamtschule”)	Occupational School (“Berufsschule”)	Other/ missing
N	201	257	152	221	102	35
(%)	(20.8)	(26.6)	(15.7)	(22.8)	(10.5)	(3.6)

Students were told that the purpose of the study was to learn more about the situation of adolescents in Germany. They received no monetary gratification for their participation but were given an attractive pen with the emblem of the study (a skater). However, those volunteering their addresses for future data collection participated in a raffle and could win one of ten CD-vouchers or a play station.

4.3 Measures

All measures used in this study were assembled by the international group of researchers for use in the international study mentioned above. These measures were either developed for the project or taken directly or with modification from existing scales, as described below. The measures reported here are those used for this dissertation. The entire questionnaire, named “Adolescents in Germany: General situation, problems and prospects,” took between 45 and 90 minutes to complete. It was prepared in German with Russian subtitles or in Hebrew, with both versions derived from an English original.²⁵ The entire data thus stems from self-reports by the adolescents.

Missing data were imputed using Systat (Systat Inc., 2000), with some exceptions. Demographic variables such as age, gender, and length of residency were not imputed, and neither were items of the dependent variables ethnic self-labels, depressive symptoms, and delinquent behavior. All scales were entered in the program and imputed simultaneously. The procedure computed maximum likelihood estimates of covariance and cross-products of deviations matrices using an Expectation-Maximum-(EM)-algorithm (Little & Rubin, 1987). The EM-algorithm substitutes missing values by estimated values maximizing the log likelihood function of the data in an iterative process. Data for single missing items were thus imputed by entering all other non-missing items from all variables (with above exceptions) as predictors with a convergence criterion of $p < .001$.

Analyses were conducted without imputation of missing data and with imputed data. Results did not differ if data were imputed or not, and it was thus decided to run all further analyses using the imputed data. Further, analyses were run to test whether results differed if subjects having missing data on entire scales ($N = 166$) were excluded from the data set. They did not, and accordingly, these subjects were kept in the sample and their data imputed, as well. All results presented for this dissertation were obtained using the EM-imputed variables.

Table 4.4 shows the correlation matrix between all variables used in this study (with the exception of ethnic self-labels) as well as their means and standard deviations. Correlation coefficients between ethnic categories (German, Russian, and ethnic German) are stated in section 4.3.1.

²⁵ In Germany, three versions of the questionnaire exist: One for local Germans, one for ethnic German immigrants, and one for foreigners. While the scales typically were the same for each version, the wordings obviously had to be adapted (e.g., “Have you ever felt disadvantaged because you are German/ ethnic German/ a foreigner”). For this dissertation, only the version for ethnic German immigrants will be further considered.

Table 4.4

Means, Standard Deviations (in Parentheses) and Correlation Matrix Between all Variables (With the Exception of Ethnic Self-Label)

		Variables									
	M (SD)	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1	3.71 (.87)	.50***	.10**	-.05	-.07*	.17***	-.10**	-.07*	.34***	-.31***	-.29**
2	30.18 (20.83)		.04	.05	-.07*	.17***	-.07*	-.09**	.24***	-.21***	-.27***
3	4.29 (1.19)			-.11**	.13***	.55***	-.04	-.33***	.21***	-.15***	.02
4	1.80 (1.02)				.30***	.01	-.15***	.02	-.08*	.07*	.06
5	4.02 (1.12)					-.18***	-.19***	-.20***	.25***	-.14***	-.06
6	7.33 (4.04)						-.10**	-.13***	.12***	-.19***	-.16***
7	1.98 (.95)							.02	-.06	-.01	.07*
8									-.17***	.15***	.05
9	3.64 (1.73)									-.45***	.35***
10	3.94 (1.93)										-.31***
11	4.07 (1.76)										

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$ ***

Note. 1 = German language use, 2 = percentage of local friends, 3 = parental knowledge, 4 = discrimination, 5 = school commitment, 6 = length of residency, 7 = depressive symptoms, 8 = delinquent behavior, 9 = German category, 10 = Russian category, 11 = Ethnic German category. Correlations between one of the three categories and other variables are Spearman correlations, as these variables were not normally distributed (see section 4.3.1).

4.3.1 Ethnic Self-Labels

The variable measuring ethnic self-label (Figure 4.1) stems from a social identity scale by Doosje et al. (1995). This scale was originally developed to measure Dutch students' identification with the category "psychology student" (Haslam, 2001). The item adapted for this study was the cognitive component "I regard myself as a...". The possible answers were German, Russian, and "Aussiedler" (the German term for ethnic German), thus allowing for multiple ethnic self-labels (e.g., German *and* Russian). All response options represent Likert-type scales from 1 (disagree) to 6 (agree).

What is your view of yourself? (Please tick one circle in each line).

	Disagree				Agree
I regard myself as a German	①	②	③	④	⑤ ⑥
I regard myself as an Aussiedler / Ethnic German	①	②	③	④	⑤ ⑥
I regard myself as a Russian	①	②	③	④	⑤ ⑥
I regard myself as:					

Figure 4.1. Items measuring ethnic categories (Doosje et al., 1995).

"I regard myself as a German" was answered by 917 adolescents ($M = 3.64$, Median = 4). Fifty-one participants (5.3%) had missing data on this item. Answers were almost equally distributed across the scale, with most participants fully agreeing with the German category (Figure 4.2).

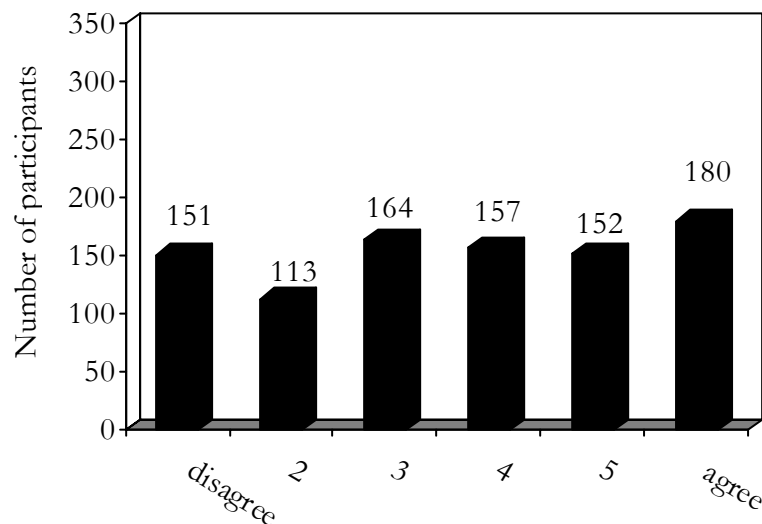


Figure 4.2. Distribution of agreement with the category German.

“I regard myself as a Russian” (Figure 4.3) was answered by 911 adolescents ($M = 3.94$, Median = 4). Fifty-seven participants (5.9%) had missing data on this item. Answers were distributed in a u-shaped curve across the scale, with adolescents tending to agree with the category rather than to reject it. Most participants fully agreed to being Russian ($N = 180$). The second most often marked answer, however, was a full rejection of the category: 176 (18.2%) of all adolescents disagreed with regarding themselves as Russian.

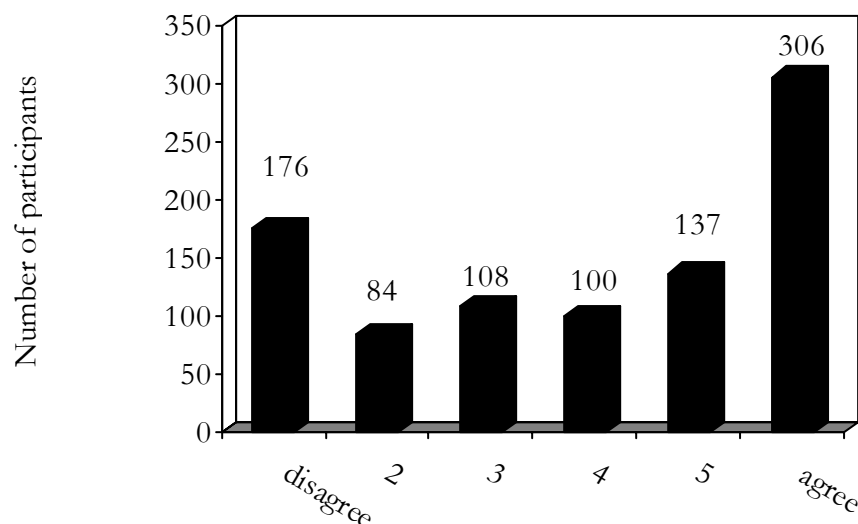


Figure 4.3. Distribution of agreement with the category Russian.

As mentioned in section 4.1, 61.1% of all participants did not immigrate from Russia to Germany, but came from other countries of the former Soviet Union. The answer to this item, however, did not depend on the country the adolescent came from. Of the 306 adolescents that fully agreed with being Russian, slightly more actually stemmed from Kazakhstan (45.1%) than

from Russia (42.4%). Another 12.1% fully agreeing to the Russian category originally came from one of the other countries of the former Soviet Union. In order to verify that even for adolescents not originally from Russia but from other former Soviet Union States Russian was a salient category, a Pearson chi square analysis was run. There is no relationship between the Russian category and country of origin: $\chi^2 = 16.87$, $df = 10$, $p = .077$. Further, a simple t-test did not reveal any differences between the groups: $F(8, 910) = 1.57$, $p = .129$. “Russian” was seen as an ethnic, rather than as a national classification. The theoretical decision made in section 2.2.6 to refer to Russian as the ethnic category for all adolescent ethnic Germans can thus be confirmed.

“I regard myself as an ethnic German” was answered by 902 adolescents ($M = 4.07$, Median = 4). Sixty-six participants (6.8%) had missing data on this item. Answers were distributed in an ascending shape towards agreement, with a higher tendency to agree with the category than to reject it. Most participants fully agreed to being ethnic German (Figure 4.4).

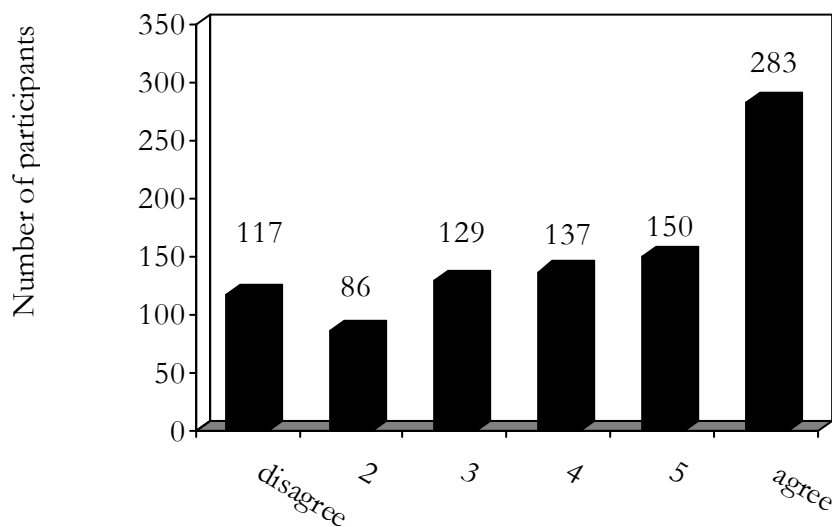


Figure 4.4. Distribution of agreement with the category Ethnic German.

Distributions of answers to all three categories were analyzed for normal distribution using the Kolmogorov-Smirnov Goodness-of-Fit Test. In all three cases, distributions were not normally distributed ($p < .001$). Thus, nonparametric tests were applied when necessary.

Spearman correlations (ρ ; commonly applied when at least one of the variables is not normally distributed; Bühl & Zöfel, 2002) were computed between the three categories. Rank correlations between the Russian and ethnic German category were $\rho = .35$, $p < .001$. The category German correlated negatively with the categories Russian ($\rho = -.45$, $p < .001$) and

ethnic German ($r_{ho} = -.31, p < .001$). The Russian and ethnic German categories are, as expected and described in section 2.2, positively related. The German category, on the other hand, is negatively related to the two. Russian and ethnic German, positively related, thus are oppositional to the German category.

Independent t-tests were conducted to analyze whether there was a gender difference in agreement to each of the three categories. There were no significant differences between gender and agreement with the German category, $t = -.160, df = 911, p = .110$. Further, there were no significant differences between gender and agreement with the ethnic German category, $t = -.293, df = 895, p = .769$. However, the gender differences were significant in regard to the Russian category, $t = 2.559, df = 905, p = .011$. Boys reported significantly higher agreement to this category than girls. Means and standard deviations for each gender and category are shown in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5
Means and Standard Deviations (in Parentheses) for Each Category by Gender

Gender	Category		
	German	Russian	Ethnic German
Female	3.72 (1.70)	3.80 (1.94)	4.09 (1.74)
Male	3.54 (1.75)	4.12 (1.90)	4.05 (1.80)

4.3.1.1 Single and Multiple Ethnic Self-Labels

German, Russian, and ethnic German are three relevant categories an ethnic German immigrant might agree with concerning his or her identity. “Ethnic self-label” describes the category or any combination of these categories an adolescent ascribes to. An adolescent was rated as agreeing to a category when marking above the scale-midpoint, meaning marking “4” or higher. Accordingly, an adolescent was rated as disagreeing with a category when marking below the scale-midpoint (“3” or lower). Agreements with each category were then combined, resulting in eight possible ethnic self-labels (Table 4.6). Throughout the dissertation, abbreviations for the ethnic self-labels are as follows: *G* for “German,” *R* for “Russian,” and *E* for “Ethnic German.” Multiple ethnic self-labels accordingly are *GR* for “German-Russian,” *GE* for “German-ethnic German,” *RE* for “Russian-ethnic German,” and *GRE* for “German-Russian-ethnic German.” Adolescents agreeing with none of the categories were given the ethnic self-label *N* for “None.”

Table 4.6

Coding of Ethnic Self-Labels Depending on (Dis-) Agreement with the Categories German, Russian, and Ethnic German

Category	Ethnic Self-Label							
German	yes	n/ m	n/ m	yes	yes	n/ m	yes	no
Russian	n/ m	yes	n/ m	yes	n/ m	yes	yes	no
Ethnic German	n/ m	n/ m	yes	n/ m	yes	yes	yes	no
	G	R	E	GR	GE	RE	GRE	N

Note. “Yes” indicates agreement with the category, ”n/m” indicates disagreement or missing value.

Missing data was treated in the following way: Individuals having missing data on all three of the categories were excluded from the analysis ($N = 42$). Individuals having missing data or disagreeing with two of the categories, but agreeing with one, were given the single ethnic self-label they agreed to. Adolescents having missing data or disagreeing with one of the categories, but agreeing with the two others, were given the multiple ethnic self-label consisting of the two categories agreed to. The “None” self-label is a more complicated case. Adolescents were given this self-label when (a) disagreeing with all three categories, or (b) disagreeing with two categories and having missing data on one. No one was included that had more than one missing category or, accordingly, disagreed with less than two categories.

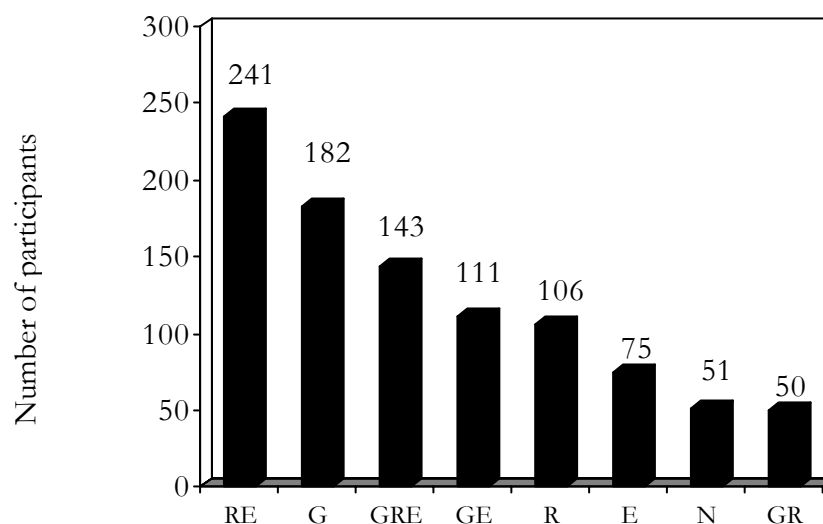


Figure 4.5. Distribution of ethnic self-labels.

A Pearson chi-square analysis was run to test whether gender was equally distributed across the ethnic self-labeling groups. There was no relationship between gender and ethnic self-label: $\chi^2 = 7.780$, $df = 7$, $p = .352$. However, this finding may hold even if there are significant gender differences between just a few ethnic self-labels. Such a difference is shown by significant difference between expected and actual count in one or more of the cells, indicated by a standardized residual larger than two (Bühl & Zöfel, 2002). This was not the case for any ethnic self-label (including the “Russian”), so that it can be assured that the gender difference found for the Russian category does not apply to the “Russian” ethnic self-label (remember: The Russian category is a 6-point Likert-type scale ranging from “disagree” to “agree,” whereas the ethnic self-label “Russian” was constructed as described above). Table 4.7 shows the distribution of ethnic self-labels by gender.

Table 4.7
Distribution of Each Ethnic Self-Label by Gender

Gender	Ethnic Self-Label							N
	G	R	E	GR	GE	RE	GRE	
Female	105 (19.9%)	48 (9.1%)	41 (7.8%)	28 (5.3%)	69 (13.1%)	132 (25.0%)	74 (14.0%)	26 (4.9%)
Male	76 (17.4%)	57 (13.1%)	33 (7.6%)	22 (5.0%)	41 (9.4%)	109 (25.0%)	69 (15.8%)	24 (5.5%)

4.3.1.2 Alternative Construction of Ethnic Self-Labels

The eight ethnic self-labeling groups were constructed using the scale midpoint as cutoff criterion. There are at least two other ways of categorizing the eight self-labeling groups. First, one could use the median split. As this would for all three items (German, Russian, and ethnic German) mean that only adolescents ticking a “5” or “6” on the scale are regarded as endorsing the item, this option was dismissed as unrealistic.

As shown in Figures 4.2 to 4.4, distributions across the scale were even across the German category, but u-shaped for the Russian as well as the ethnic German category. This calls for a second possible option to group the categories, namely to drop the middle options and include only adolescents marking very low (“1” and “2”) or very high (“5” and “6”) on the scale. The downside to this option is that only extreme cases remain in the sample, which was not the aim of the dissertation and which would exclude 150 participants. Nonetheless, analyses were run

with extreme values as cutoff criterion. They yielded similar results as when choosing the scale midpoint as cutoff criterion (see Appendix 9.1). It thus seemed unnecessary to exclude subjects that marked middle values when the whole sample could reasonably be kept.

Another way of grouping answers to three categories is cluster analysis. A between-groups (average linkage) cluster analysis was performed on the co-occurrence matrix. To determine the appropriate number of self-labeling clusters, the amalgamation coefficients were examined visually (Aldenderfer & Blashfield, 1985). Determination of the number of clusters to retain optimally involves a large jump between these coefficients (Bühl & Zöfel, 2002). This yielded a five-cluster solution. However, the five cluster solution excluded the following ethnic self-labels: “German-Russian” (GR), “German-ethnic German” (GE), and “None” (N). These were theoretically deemed relevant and together accounted for 22% of all participants when choosing the scale midpoint as cutoff criterion. Further, the formation of ethnic self-labels and the relationship to acculturative outcomes yielded similar results when using the five cluster solution as when choosing the scale-midpoint as cutoff criterion and obtaining eight ethnic self-labeling groups (see Appendix 9.2). It was thus decided to maintain the more fine-grained eight ethnic self-labeling groups built by scale-midpoint. Confidence that this method of grouping the responses to the three categories is not arbitrary, but indeed logical, seems justified.

4.3.1.3 Construct Validation of Ethnic Self-Labels against Acculturation Dimensions

A study is valid if its measures actually measure what they claim to. Construct validity has to do with the logic of items which comprise measures of social concepts- for example ethnic self-labels as the cognitive component of ethnic identity. A good construct has a theoretical basis which is translated through clear operational definitions involving measurable indicators.

The model of acculturation orientations (e.g., Berry, 2003), identity strategies (Camilleri & Malewska-Peyre, 1997), and the dynamic identity model (Brewer, 1991) led to the assumption that ethnic self-labels can be validated against (dis-) agreement with the two dimensions of acculturation orientations (see section 2.2.8). The two dimensions in terms of Berry are (1) maintenance of cultural identity and characteristics, and (2) maintenance of relationships with other groups. The “German” label should thus be related to acculturation items attaching value to the maintenance of relationships with other groups. The “Russian” and “Ethnic German” label should be related to acculturation items attaching value to the maintenance of cultural identity and characteristics. However, the Russian target group could not be included in the scale due to practical reasons: In the larger study, ethnic Germans from various eastern European countries participated, for example from states of the former Soviet Union, Poland, or Rumania.

These could not all be represented in the acculturation orientation scale, so that the assumption that the “Russian” label should be related to acculturation items attaching value to the maintenance of cultural identity and characteristics could not be tested. Multiple ethnic self-labels, however, could. Adolescents with multiple ethnic self-labels should maintain relationships with other groups *and* maintain cultural identity and characteristics if the multiple self-label includes the German and ethnic German category. Rejection of ethnic self-labels could also be validated through acculturation orientations. Adolescents with an ethnic self-label disagreeing with all categories should not maintain relationships with other groups and should not maintain cultural identity and characteristics.

Items for the acculturation dimensions stem from a scale by Ryder, Alden, and Paulhus (2000). Both dimensions (maintenance of relationships with other groups and maintenance of cultural identity and characteristics) consisted of the three items²⁶. Participants were asked: “If you think about the time you spend with others, to what extent would you agree to the following statements?” The three items for the dimension “maintenance of relationships with other groups” were: (1) I enjoy social activities together with local Germans; (2) I would be willing to have a boy-/girlfriend who is local German (romantic relationship); and (3) I can well imagine having friends who are local Germans. For the dimension “maintenance of cultural identity and characteristics,” identical items were asked but the target group changed from “local German” to “ethnic German.” All response options represented Likert-type scales from 1 (disagree) to 6 (agree).

A particular pattern of relationships between the measured variables (the three items above referring to activities and relationships) and common factors (the two dimensions of acculturation orientations) was expected a priori. Two reasons are given for this. First, the scale by Ryder et al. (2000) was developed to measure acculturation orientations, and revealed satisfactory scale properties in previous samples. Second, theoretical assumptions concerning the model of acculturation orientations (e.g., Berry, 2003) led to the assumption that the two dimensions are distinguishable (see section 2.2.7). In such a case, a confirmatory factor analysis is appropriate to assess whether the two theoretical factors are empirically supported (Fabrigar, Wegener, MacCallum, & Strahan, 1999).

Two models were tested using AMOS 4.0. The first model, consisting of the two dimensions with three items each, showed inadequate fit: $\chi^2 = (8, 968) = 177.39; p < .001$; TLI = 0.97; CFI = 0.99; RMSEA = 0.148. This was due to one variable on each dimension, namely “I

²⁶ The complete scale had an added target group, namely „foreigners.“ Items concerning this group are the same as for the other two. As the dimension was not of relevance for the validation of the ethnic self-labels, items referring to foreigners are not reported here.

enjoy social activities with local Germans/ ethnic Germans.” Theoretically, it makes sense to distinguish it from the other two items: This variable refers to leisure time activities that can, for example, be carried out in groups or cliques. Many ethnic Germans “do not mind” if local Germans are with them in their spare time. However, the other two items refer to more intimate relationships, namely to friendships and romantic relationships. For the second model, the former variable (social activities) thus was excluded from the analysis. This model fit was satisfactory: $\chi^2(1, 968) = 6.05$; $p = .014$; TLI = 1.00; CFI = 1.00; RMSEA = .072. For the following analyses, the two dimensions “maintenance of cultural identity and characteristics” and “maintenance of relationships with other groups” were each assembled from the two “intimate” items.

Table 4.8

Means and Standard Deviations (in Parentheses) of Ethnic Self-Label by Acculturation Dimension

	G	R	E	GR	GE	RE	GRE	N
Acc-D	5.01	3.88	3.89	5.22	4.74	3.62	4.78	4.16
„Local German“	(1.43)	(1.77)	(1.65)	(1.15)	(1.28)	(1.58)	(1.33)	(1.78)
Acc-D	5.22	5.10	5.41	5.08	5.55	5.58	5.74	4.84
„Ethnic German“	(1.29)	(1.39)	(1.12)	(1.21)	(.91)	(.99)	(.60)	(1.58)

Note. “Local German” stands for the acculturation dimension “maintenance of relationships with other groups.” “Ethnic German” stands for the acculturation dimension “maintenance of cultural identity and characteristics.” “Acc-D” stands for “acculturation dimension.”

A univariate analysis of variance (UNIANOVA) revealed a significant difference between ethnic self-label as independent and the acculturation dimension “maintenance of cultural identity and characteristics” as dependent variable, $F(7, 947) = 7.28$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .51$. The difference between the means was also significant for the acculturation dimension “maintenance of relationships with other groups,” $F(7, 943) = 20.48$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .14$. Means and standard deviations for each acculturation orientation are shown in Table 4.8.

The order of ethnic self-labels for the acculturation dimension “orientation towards other groups” (“local German dimension”) was expected as follows: G, GR, GE, GRE > R, E, RE, N. A UNIANOVA contrast analysis with contrasts weights of (1 1 1 1 -1 -1 -1 -1) confirmed this

and showed the expected differences between the ethnic self-labeling groups in orientation towards other groups, $F(1, 943) = 90.92, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .09$. As expected, adolescents labeling themselves as “German” (either solely or in combination with any other category) reported higher ratings on this dimension than adolescents not including a “German” in their ethnic self-label (Figure 4.6). Their bars are printed in black.

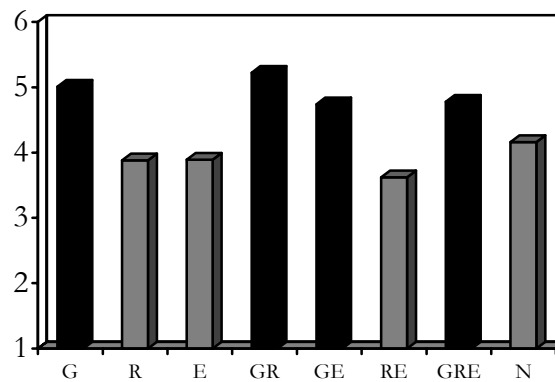


Figure 4.6. Means of “maintenance of relationships with other groups” by ethnic self-label.

The order of ethnic self-labels for the acculturation dimension “maintenance of cultural identity and characteristics” (“Ethnic German dimension”) was expected as follows: E, GE, RE, GRE > G, R, GR, N. A UNIANOVA contrast analysis with contrast weights of (1 1 1 1 -1 -1 -1 -1) confirmed this and showed the expected differences between the ethnic self-labeling groups in orientation towards the maintenance of cultural identity and characteristics, $F(1, 947) = 37.66, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .04$. As expected, adolescents labeling themselves as “Ethnic German” (either solely or in combination with any other category) reported higher ratings on this dimension than adolescents not including a “German” in their ethnic self-label (Figure 4.7). Their bars are printed in black.

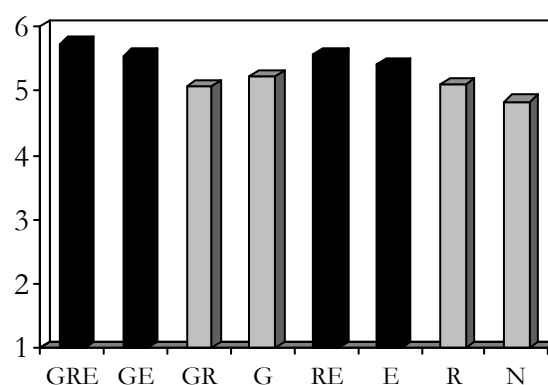


Figure 4.7. Means of “maintenance of cultural identity and characteristics” by ethnic self-label.

Convergent validity, which is a type of construct validity, refers to the principle that the indicators (acculturation dimensions) for a given construct (ethnic self-labels) should be at least moderately correlated amongst themselves. Indeed, the correlation between the two dimensions “maintenance of relationships with other groups” and “maintenance of cultural identity and characteristics” was low, though highly significant: $r = .18, p < .001$.

In sum, ethnic self-labels can be validated against (dis-) agreement with the two dimensions of acculturation orientations. Adolescents labeling themselves as “German,” solely or in combination with other categories, scored significantly higher on the acculturation dimension “maintenance of relationships with other groups.” Adolescents labeling themselves as “ethnic German” in combination with other categories scored significantly higher on the acculturation dimension “maintenance of cultural identity and characteristics.” No validation could be given for the ethnic self-label “Russian,” as it was not included as an acculturation dimension in the scale used here.

4.3.2 Other Measures

German language use. Four items rated the frequency of speaking German with parents and friends, as well as reading magazines, newspapers, and books in German and watching German television. The five response options were: Never in German, occasionally in German, frequently in German, mostly in German, and always in German. The reliability of the scale was $\alpha = .73$ and thus satisfactory.

Peer relations. Peer relations were measured through the item: „How many of your friends in Germany are...” with the response options local German, ethnic German, foreigners. Adolescents could also mark the response “I do not have any friends in Germany.” Of the total number of friends, the percentage of German friends was calculated.

School commitment. School commitment was assessed using parts of a scale by Schneewind (1988). The introductory question was “Please rate your personal experience. To what extent would it be true to say...” Three items were given, all with Likert-type scale response options ranging from 1 (not true) to 6 (true). The items were “I do well at school even in hard subjects,” “I had a good grade point average on my last report card,” and “I do my homework carefully.” The reliability of the scale was $\alpha = .72$ and thus satisfactory.

Length of residency. Month of arrival and year of arrival were assessed and subtracted from the time of data collection. The result was then rounded to a variable “length of residency” in years.

Parental knowledge. Parental knowledge concerning their child’s whereabouts and spare-time activities was assessed using a scale by Kerr and Stattin (2000). Five items followed the question: “Parents know more or less about the activities their children are engaged in. What do your parents know?” The items were “do your parents know what you do in your spare time,” “do your parents know with whom you spend your spare time,” “do your parents know what you spend your money on,” “do your parents know where you go after school/ work,” and “do your parents know where you go with your friends at night.” Response options represented Likert-type scales from 1 (no, never) to 6 (yes, always). The reliability of the scale was $\alpha = .85$ and thus high.

Perceived discrimination. Discrimination was assessed using a scale by Strobl and Kühnel (2000). Adolescents were asked: “Sometimes local Germans, Aussiedler/ Ethnic Germans and foreigners are treated differently. How often during the last 12 months have you personally experienced disadvantages in the following areas of life because you are Aussiedler/ Ethnic German?” If participants had not been to the country for full twelve months, they were encouraged to answer for the time they had been in Germany. A total of 41 (4.24%) participants had resided in the country for less than 12 months. An independent t-test was conducted to measure whether the groups differed in the amount of discrimination experienced, as this test is robust even with large differences between group sizes as long as the variances are equal (Bortz, 1993). Adolescents having resided in Germany for less than 12 months reported significantly more discrimination ($M = 2.33$, $SD = 1.19$) than those that had been in Germany for more than 12 months ($M = 1.78$, $SD = 1.00$), $t = -3.40$, $p = .001$. Given this result, their answers were not weighed according to their length of residency, but treated just like the ones given by adolescents that had lived in Germany for 12 months or more. It was feared that otherwise, weighed scores might overestimate experiences with discrimination.

Four items regarding places discrimination experiences may be made at were given: School/ workplace, administrative offices, bars/ restaurants/ discotheques, and shops. The response options rated the frequency from “never” to “once or twice,” “three or five times,” “six to ten times,” and “more than ten times.” Another option was “I have never been there,” which was treated as a missing variable. The reliability of the scale was $\alpha = .65$ and thus satisfactory.

Depressive symptoms. Depressive symptoms were assessed through the Child Behavior Checklist (Achenbach, 1991). The introductory question was "Read the following statements and give an estimation how true they are at present." Nine items were given, all with Likert-type scale response options ranging from 1 (not true) to 6 (true). The items were "I cry a lot," "I feel lonely," "I feel unloved," "I feel worthless," "I feel nervous/ tense," "I am fearful/ anxious," "I am unhappy/ sad/ depressed," "I worry a lot," and "I have problems to sleep (to fall asleep or to sleep all night)." The reliability of the scale was $\alpha = .87$ and thus high.

Delinquent behavior. Delinquent behavior was assessed through an adapted scale by Elliot (1983). The introductory question was "How often have you done the following things during the last 12 months in Germany? (Please give one answer per line)." If participants had not been to the country for full twelve months, they were encouraged to answer for the time they had been in Germany. A total of 41 (4.24%) participants had resided in the country for less than 12 months. They reported significantly less delinquent behavior ($M = 1.13$, $SD = .27$) than those that had been in Germany for more than 12 months ($M = 1.25$, $SD = .28$), $t = 2.65$, $p = .008$. Nonetheless, their answers were not weighed according to their length of residency, but treated just like the ones given by adolescents that had lived in Germany for 12 months or more. First, weighing the data for such a small part of the sample was seen as falsifying information. Second, the difference was significant due to the large sample size, but small in absolute numbers. And third, not weighing the data ensured comparability with how the discrimination scale was treated.

Nineteen items (shown in Table 4.9) were given with response options rating the frequency from "never" to "once or twice," "three to four times," and "more than five times." The reliability of the scale was $\alpha = .80$ and thus high.

Scales for German language use, school commitment, parental knowledge, depressive symptoms, and delinquent behavior were computed by adding the values for each of the items and dividing them through the number of items, thus creating a mean value for each subject on each scale.

Table 4.9

Items Assessing Delinquent Behavior (Adapted From Elliot, 1983)

I...

Was absent from school at least one day without permission

Was absent from home for one night without telling anybody at home

Used a train, tram, or bus etc. without paying

Forged a signature or something similar (e.g., parents signature for school)

Stole (or tried to steal) something worth more than € 50

Drove a car, motorbike etc. without driving license, or insurance, or without the owner's permission

Knowingly bought, sold, or held stolen goods (or tried to do any of these things)

Took part in an affray or hit somebody

Stole (or tried to steal) something worth less than € 50

Went to a movie, concert, discotheque etc. without paying the entrance fee

Threatened somebody to force him to do something

Destroyed something on purpose (window, street lighting, telephone box, bus stop, etc.)

Was paid for having sexual relationships

Hit or threatened to hit a teacher or one of my parents

Was loud, rowdy, or impertinent in public

Threatened somebody with a weapon (knife, bottle, etc.)

Sold drugs such as marijuana, hashish, heroine, cocaine, or LSD

Had or tried to have sexual contact with someone against his/her will

Broke into a building or vehicle to steal something

5. Results

Two main research questions were of interest in this study. First, how do contextual and individual factors correlate with the formation of (multiple) ethnic self-labels among adolescent ethnic German immigrants? And second, what is the relationship between these (multiple) ethnic self-labels and psychological and sociocultural adaptation? The first question will be dealt with in section 5.1; the second in section 5.2.

5.1 Formation of Ethnic Self-Labels

Two general principles concerning the formation of ethnic self-labels guided this research (see section 2.3.7). The first one, referring to successful immigration, implies that successful immigration to Germany requires some form of identification with or sense of belonging to the German culture. Translated to ethnic self-labels, choosing the label “German” (either solely or in combination with any other category) was expected to be beneficial to the individual, involving some form of culture learning. The second principle, referring to less successful immigration, implies that negating the German category is a sign for an unsuccessful immigration process. Disagreeing with the German category or, as a matter of fact, any of the three categories simultaneously (and thus choosing the ethnic self-label “None”), was expected to be an indicator for an immigration that does not go well.

Which variables are relevant for the formation of successful and less successful ethnic self-labels? Possible candidates were chosen from the contexts culture (German language use), peers (percentage of German friends), school (school commitment), family (parental knowledge concerning the child’s spare-time activities and whereabouts), and society (perceived discrimination). Length of residency was included as an additional factor. These variables were thought to influence the formation of successful and less successful ethnic self-labels in different manners, the results of which are described in sections 5.1.1 and 5.1.2.

First, descriptive analyses of the predictor variables were conducted, with the results summarized in Table 5.1. The clearest picture emerged for adolescents labeling themselves as “German.” They had the most positive means on all variables (with the exception of percentage of local German friends). They used the German language most often, had the second highest percentage of German friends, their parents knew most about the activities they engaged in, they had lived in Germany the longest, and they reported the highest amount of school commitment, compared to adolescent ascribing themselves to other ethnic self-labels. On the other hand, they perceived less discrimination than adolescents labeling themselves as other than “German.”

Table 5.1

Mean Values and Standard Deviations (in Parentheses) of Predictor Variables Across Eight Ethnic Self-Labels. F and p Value of ANOVAs Between Ethnic Self-Labels and Predictor Variables. Group Size

Ethnic Self-Label	Variable						Group size
	1	2	3	4	5	6	
G+	4.20 (.77)	40.50 (24.05)	4.39 (1.06)	8.50 (3.86)	4.64 (1.08)	1.68 (1.01)	182 (18.8%)
R	3.37 (.92)	26.20 (17.92)	3.73 (1.18)	6.45 (3.56)	3.79 (1.32)	1.89 (1.10)	106 (11%)
E	3.34 (.88)	26.32 (22.59)	3.89 (1.08)	6.90 (4.28)	4.28 (1.33)	1.83 (0.99)	75 (7.7%)
GR+	4.07 (.74)	42.04 (24.28)	4.23 (1.06)	8.17 (3.15)	4.18 (1.14)	1.88 (1.19)	50 (5.2%)
GE+	3.98 (.79)	29.43 (18.70)	4.22 (1.02)	8.01 (4.69)	4.63 (1.01)	1.84 (1.01)	111 (11.5%)
RE	3.40 (.85)	24.03 (17.88)	3.81 (1.11)	6.72 (4.05)	4.19 (1.15)	1.88 (.99)	241 (24.9%)
GRE+	3.67 (.72)	27.61 (15.84)	4.15 (0.98)	6.75 (3.63)	4.36 (1.22)	1.78 (1.05)	143 (14.8%)
N	3.88 (.76)	32.16 (18.40)	3.65 (1.32)	8.29 (4.17)	3.81 (1.05)	1.56 (.78)	51 (5.3%)
<i>F</i>	22.68	14.39	7.53	4.92	8.27	1.20	
<i>p</i>	<.001	<.001	<.001	<.001	<.001	.299	
η_p^2	.15	.10	.06	.04	.06	.01	

Note. 1 = German language use, 2 = percentage of local German friends, 3 = school commitment, 4 = length of residency, 5 = parental knowledge, 6 = perceived discrimination. Length of residency is given in years. Ethnic self-labels with a + are thought to stand for successful immigration. Abbreviations for ethnic self-labels are as follows: German (G), Russian (R), ethnic German (E), German-Russian (GR), German-ethnic German (GE), Russian-ethnic German (RE), German-Russian-ethnic German (GRE), and None (N).

At first glance, therefore, the principle that successful immigration is related to the German category seems correct. Analyses of variance (ANOVA) with ethnic self-label as

between-subject factor and the context variables as dependent variables revealed that the differences at group level were significant for all dependent variables with the exception of perceived discrimination.

Before testing specific hypotheses, a multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) with ethnic self-labels and gender as between-subjects factor and the context variables as dependent variables was conducted to test for main effects of gender and interactions between ethnic self-labels and gender. There were two significant main effects of gender, namely on length of residency, $F(1, 841) = 4.20, p = .041, \eta_p^2 = .01$ and on parental knowledge, $F(1, 841) = 11.63, p = .001, \eta_p^2 = .01$. Girls ($M = 7.13, SD = 4.06$) had resided for a shorter period of time in the new country than boys ($M = 7.62, SD = 4.01$), but reported more parental knowledge ($M = 4.46, SD = 1.19$) than boys ($M = 4.06, SD = 1.15$). There were no significant interactions between ethnic self-labels and gender on any of the context variables. Results will thus not be reported for each gender separately.

5.1.1 Successful Immigration

Successful immigration was thought to occur when an adolescent ascribes to an ethnic self-label that includes the German category. The proximity to the German category was assumed to be linked to variables that are part of a “healthy” and beneficial immigration process. As such, German language use, German friends, and school commitment were thought relevant. In addition, it was believed that a longer stay in the new country provides better chances for more culture learning, which the variables above are part of. Length of residency was thus included in the hypotheses.

German language use. Adolescents regarding themselves as “German” (G) were expected to report the most German language use, followed by adolescents labeling themselves in a manner that includes the German category (“German-Russian” (GR), “German-ethnic German” (GE), “German-Russian-ethnic German” (GRE)) and those regarding themselves as “None” (N). The least German language use was hypothesized for adolescents that consider themselves “Russian” (R), “Ethnic German” (E), or “Russian-ethnic German” (RE). The order of ethnic self-labels was expected as follows: $G > GR, GE, GRE, N > R, E, RE$ (Hypothesis 1). This hypothesis was confirmed. A UNIANOVA contrast analysis with contrast weights of (2 1 1 1 1 -2 -2 -2) showed the expected differences between the ethnic self-labeling groups in German language use, $F(1, 951) = 116.15, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .11$. The overall order of ethnic self-labels was: G, GR, GE, N, GRE, RE, R, E.

German friends. Adolescents labeling themselves as “German” (G) were expected to report the highest proportion of local German friends, followed by adolescents labeling themselves in a manner that includes the German category (“German-Russian” (GR), “German-ethnic German” (GE), “German-Russian-ethnic German” (GRE)) and those regarding themselves as “None” (N). The lowest proportion of local German friends was hypothesized for adolescents that consider themselves “Russian” (R), „Ethnic German” (E), or “Russian-ethnic German” (RE). The order of ethnic self-labels was expected as follows: $G > GR, GE, GRE, N > R, E, RE$ (Hypothesis 2). This hypothesis was confirmed. A UNIANOVA contrast analysis with contrast weights of (2 1 1 1 -2 -2 -2) showed the expected differences between the ethnic self-labeling groups in local German friends: $F(1, 951) = 48.10, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .05$. The overall order of ethnic self-labels was: GR, G, N, GE, GRE, E, R, RE.

As, unexpectedly, “German-Russian” (GR) labelers reported a higher proportion of local German friends than “German” (G) labelers, an additional independent t-test between these two ethnic self-labeling groups was conducted. The difference was insignificant, $t = .400, df = 230, p = .689$.

School commitment. Adolescents including the German category (“German” (G), “German-Russian” (GR), “German-ethnic German” (GE), and “German-Russian-ethnic German” (GRE)) in their ethnic self-label were expected to report the most school commitment, followed by adolescents labeling themselves as “Russian” (R), “Ethnic German” (E), or “Russian-ethnic German” (RE). The least school commitment was expected for adolescents labeling themselves as “None” (N). The order of ethnic self-labels was expected as follows: $G, GR, GE, GRE > R, E, RE > N$ (Hypothesis 3). This hypothesis was confirmed. A UNIANOVA contrast analysis with contrasts weights of (2 2 2 2 -1 -1 -1 -5) showed the expected differences between the ethnic self-labeling groups in school commitment, $F(1, 951) = 23.08, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .02$. The overall order of ethnic self-labels was: G, GR, GE, GRE, E, RE, R, N.

Length of residency. Adolescents labeling themselves as “German” (G) were expected to have lived longest in Germany, followed by adolescents labeling themselves in a manner that includes the German category (“German-Russian” (GR), “German-ethnic German” (GE), “German-Russian-ethnic German” (GRE), as well as “None” (N). The shortest length of residency was hypothesized for adolescents that consider themselves “Russian” (R), „Ethnic German” (E), or “Russian-ethnic German” (RE). The order of ethnic self-labels was expected as follows: $G > GR, GE, GRE, N > R, E, RE$ (Hypothesis 4). This hypothesis was not confirmed.

Table 5.2
Ethnic Self-Label by Length of Residency (Bonferonni Contrasts)

(I) Ethnic Self-Label	(J) Ethnic Self-Label	Length of Residency	
		Mean Difference (I-J)	Significance
G	R*	2.05	.002
	E	1.60	.158
	GR	.33	1.00
	GE	.49	1.00
	RE*	1.77	.001
	GRE*	1.75	.006
	N	.21	1.00
R	E	-.45	1.00
	GR	-.172	.599
	GE	-.156	.173
	RE	-.27	1.00
	GRE	-.30	1.00
	N	-1.84	.312
E	GR	-1.27	1.00
	GE	-1.11	1.00
	RE	.18	1.00
	GRE	.15	1.00
	N	-1.39	1.00
GR	GE	.16	1.00
	RE	1.45	.907
	GRE	1.42	1.00
	N	-.12	1.00
GE	RE	1.29	.183
	GRE	1.26	.467
	N	-.28	1.00
RE	GRE	-.03	1.00
	N	-1.57	.452
GRE	N	-1.54	.724

Note. Significant differences are depicted by * and printed in bold.

A UNIANOVA contrast analysis with contrast weights of (2 1 1 1 1 -2 -2 -2) did not show the expected differences between the ethnic self-labeling groups in length of residency, $F(1,$

853) = 1.70, $p = .192$, $\eta_p^2 = .00$. As an ANOVA (reported above) revealed a main effect for ethnic self-labels and length of residency, Bonferonni post-hoc tests were run to identify the significant differences between ethnic self-labeling groups on this variable (Table 5.2).

In sum, adolescents labeling themselves as “German” (G) reported the longest length of residency, adolescents labeling themselves as “Russian” (R) the shortest. Differences were significant only between “German” (G) labelers and the three ethnic self-labeling groups “Russian” (R), “Russian-ethnic German” (RE), and “German-Russian-ethnic German” (GRE). That “German-Russian-ethnic German” (GRE) labelers reported shorter lengths of residency than “German” (G) labelers was unexpected, as it had been hypothesized that adolescents including the German category in their label report longer lengths of residency than those excluding the German category. The overall order of ethnic self-labels was: G, N, GR, GE, E, GRE, RE, R.

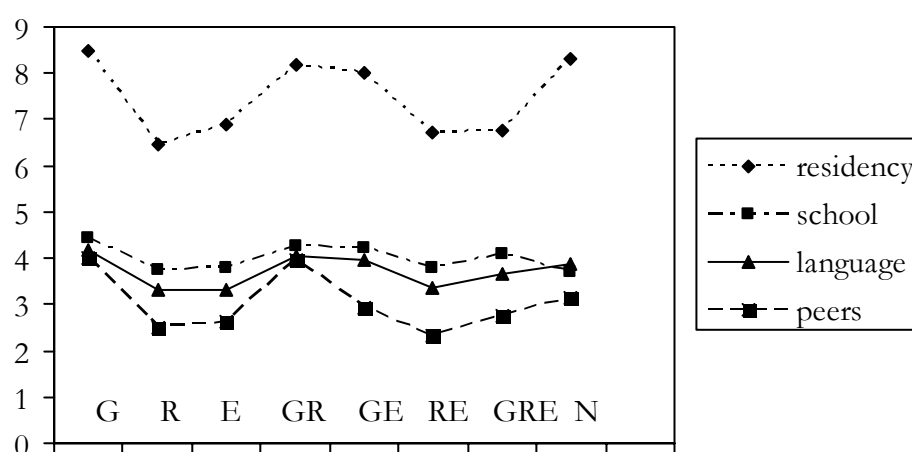


Figure 5.1. Group means for successful immigration variables.²⁷

Figure 5.1 shows the group means for each of the four successful immigration variables; the percentage of local German friends being divided by 10 so as to fit the scale. In sum, the *German* category (referring to national identity) was related to successful immigration variables if agreed to either as a single ethnic self-label (“German”) or if combined with the Russian category (“German-Russian”). The other combinations (“German-ethnic German” and “German-Russian-ethnic German”) were related to comparatively moderate results.

The *Russian* category (referring to the heritage culture) was related to successful immigration only if combined with the German category alone (“German-Russian”), and not when solely agreed to (“Russian”) or when combined with the ethnic German category (“Russian-ethnic German” or “German-Russian-ethnic German”).

²⁷ Percentage of local friends is divided by 10 as to fit the scale.

The *ethnic German* category (also referring to the heritage culture) was in no case clearly linked to successful immigration variables. Best results showed if combined with the German category (“German-ethnic German”). As a single ethnic self-label (“Ethnic German”), it was unobtrusive; as was the case when it was combined with both the German and the Russian category (“German-Russian-ethnic German”). Rather poor results showed when combined with the Russian category alone (“Russian-ethnic German”).

The relationship of the “None” label to successful immigration variables varied. Adolescents ascribing to this ethnic self-label reported comparatively much German language use and a high percentage of local German friends; however, school commitment was lowest in this group. Length of residency ranged in the middle. This was in all cases expected.

Concerning the recent debate on whether single- or multiple ethnic self-labels are more beneficial (section 2.2.6), these results showed that it depends on the content of the label. A single ethnic self-label can be positively (“German”), negatively (“Russian”), or even intermediately (“Ethnic German”) related to successful immigration variables. The same holds true for multiple ethnic self-labels. They, too, can be positively (“German-Russian”), negatively (“Russian-ethnic German”), or even intermediately (“German-Ethnic German”) related to successful immigration variables. These results are further discussed in chapter 6.

5.1.2 Less Successful Immigration

Less successful immigration was thought to occur when an adolescent ascribes to an ethnic self-label that excludes the German category. Disagreeing with the German category or any of the three categories simultaneously was expected to be an indicator for an immigration that does not go well. These adolescents were expected to stand out in the sense that they report less parental knowledge and more discrimination in comparison to those adolescents involved in a successful immigration process. As shown in Table 5.1, ANOVAs revealed significant differences between ethnic self-labels and parental knowledge ($p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .06$), but not perceived discrimination ($p = .302$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$).

Parental knowledge. Adolescents including the German category in their ethnic self-label (“German” (G), “Russian” (R), “German-Russian” (GR), “German-ethnic German” (GE), and “German-Russian-ethnic German” (GRE)) were expected to report the most parental knowledge concerning their spare-time activities and whereabouts, followed by adolescents labeling themselves as “Ethnic German” (E) or “Russian-ethnic German” (RE). The least parental

knowledge was expected for adolescents labeling themselves as “None” (N). The order of ethnic self-labels was expected as follows: G, R, GR, GE, GRE > E, RE > N (Hypothesis 5). This hypothesis was confirmed. A UNIANOVA contrast analysis with contrast weights of (1 1 1 1 1 -1 -1 -3) showed the expected differences between the ethnic self-labeling groups in parental knowledge, $F(1, 951) = 8.81, p = .003, \eta_p^2 = .01$. The overall order of ethnic self-labels was G, GE, GRE, E, GR, RE, N, R.

Though this analysis was significant, it should be noted that contrary to expectations, “Russian” labelers reported the least parental knowledge. Independent t-tests showed that this difference was significant in comparison to the four groups reporting the most parental knowledge, namely in comparison to “German” (G) labelers, $t = -6.00, df = 286, p < .001$; in comparison to “German-ethnic German” (GE) labelers, $t = -5.33, df = 215, p < .001$; in comparison to “German-Russian- ethnic German” (GRE) labelers, $t = -3.53, df = 247, p = .001$; and in comparison to “Ethnic German” (E) labelers, $t = -2.46, df = 179, p = .015$.

The *German* category (referring to national identity) was related to the most parental knowledge if agreed to either as a single ethnic self-label (“German”) or if combined with the Russian and/ or ethnic German category.

The *Russian* category (referring to the heritage culture) was related to the least parental knowledge if solely agreed to (“Russian”) or combined with the ethnic German category (“Russian-ethnic German”). If combined with the German category (“German-Russian” or “German-Russian-ethnic German”), it was linked with comparatively much parental knowledge.

The *ethnic German* category (referring to the heritage culture) was not clearly linked to much or little parental knowledge. Best results showed if combined with the German category (“German-ethnic German” or “German-Russian-ethnic German”). As a single ethnic self-label (“Ethnic German”), it was unobtrusive. Rather poor results showed when combined with the Russian category alone (“Russian-ethnic German”).

The “None” self-label was linked to comparatively little parental knowledge. Concerning the recent debate on whether single- or multiple ethnic self-labels are more beneficial (section 2.2.6), the results presented showed that it depends on the content of the label. A single ethnic self-label can be positively (“German”), negatively (“Russian”), or even intermediately (“Ethnic German”) related to parental knowledge. The same holds true for multiple ethnic self-labels. They, too, can be positively (“German-ethnic German”), negatively (“Russian-ethnic German”), or even intermediately (“German-Russian”) related to parental knowledge. These results are further discussed in chapter 6.

5.1.3 (Less) Successful Immigration Variables and Group Membership

How do the variables German language use, percentage of local German friends, school commitment, length of residency, parental knowledge concerning the child's spare-time activities and whereabouts, and perceived discrimination altogether differentiate between the eight distinct ethnic self-labels? And what is their respective ability to predict group membership? A discriminant analysis was run with the initially mentioned six predictor variables, which were used to discriminate between the eight possible ethnic self-labels. A descriptive discriminant analysis (DDA) was deemed most appropriate for this purpose (Huberty & Hussein, 2003). How the eight ethnic self-labeling groups were derived is described in section 4.3.1. The choice of predictor variables was guided by theory, as illustrated in section 2.3.

Discriminant analysis creates a number of functions (one fewer than the number of groups or the number of discriminating variables, whichever is fewer; Klecka, 1980). These functions can then be used to classify individual cases into groups. Two significant functions emerged (Wilks' lambda after the second function was derived = .93, $p = .002$). This means that the eight ethnic self-labels could be adequately discriminated through these two functions. The functions had eigenvalues of .25 and .04, respectively. The larger the eigenvalues are, the more variance in the discriminant function is explained by the eight ethnic self-labeling groups. Consequently, larger eigenvalues mean a better differentiation of the groups on these functions (Soenens, Duriez, & Gossens, 2005).

Canonical correlations (equivalent to R in multiple regression analysis) show how strong the association between the predictor variables and the ethnic self-labeling groups is. The canonical correlation of each function and the explained variance is shown in Table 5.3. Standardized discriminant coefficients (similar to beta weights in regression analysis) show how much a variable contributes to the discriminating power of each function (Klecka, 1980). The larger the magnitude of the respective variable, the greater is its discriminating power.

The within-groups correlations show how much each predictor variable contributes to the discrimination between the groups. The first function correlated highest with the predictor variables German language use ($r = .81$) and German friends ($r = .62$). Correlations with other variables were small in comparison, ranging from $r = -.14$ (discrimination) to $r = .42$ (school commitment). The second function correlated highest with the predictor variable parental knowledge ($r = .83$). Other variables ranged from $r = -.15$ (German friends) to $r = .31$ (school

commitment) and added only a smaller amount to the correct differentiation between identification groups²⁸. The first function explained 78.4% of the variance, the second 10.8%. The canonical correlations were $r = .47$ for the first, and $r = .20$ for the second function.

Table 5.3

Within-Groups Correlations Between Discriminating Variables and Standardized Canonical Discriminant Functions (N = 861)

	Function 1	Function 2
Variables	Standardized discriminant coefficient	Standardized discriminant coefficient
German Language Use	.81	-.15
% of German Friends	.62	-.52
Parental Knowledge	.34	.83
Length of Residency	.37	-.01
School Commitment	.42	.31
Perceived Discrimination	-.14	-.09
Variance	78.4	10.8
Canonical r	.47	.20

Note. Largest absolute correlation between each variable and any discriminant function are printed in bold.

Figure 5.2 shows the group means for each of the eight self-labels on the two functions. The first function correlated highest with German language use and percentage of German friends. On this function, the adolescents labeling themselves as “German” (G), “German-ethnic German” (GE), and “German-Russian” (GR) scored highest. The second function correlated highest with parental knowledge. Adolescents labeling themselves as “German-ethnic German” (GE) scored highest on this function, those labeling themselves as “None” (N) lowest.

Taking both functions together, 23.1% of all cases could be classified correctly. This means that classification was 10.6% higher than by chance (which would have been 12.5%). Classification probability (Table 5.4) was highest for those labeling themselves as “German” (G; 37.9%, versus a 12.5% a-priori likelihood) and those labeling themselves as “None” (N; 30.8%,

²⁸ According to Tabachnick and Fidell (1996), correlations greater than .33 may be interpreted. Length of residency and school commitment could thus be included here. However, as they are much lower than the significant correlations of each function, they will not be interpreted.

versus a 12.5% a-priori likelihood). Adolescents labeling themselves as “German” (G) reported all expected signs of a successful immigration process: They used the German language most often, reported a high percentage of local German friends, the highest school commitment, the most parental knowledge, and the least perceived discrimination (though the difference in perceived discrimination did not reach significance between ethnic self-labels). They had also resided in Germany the longest; on average 8.8 years.

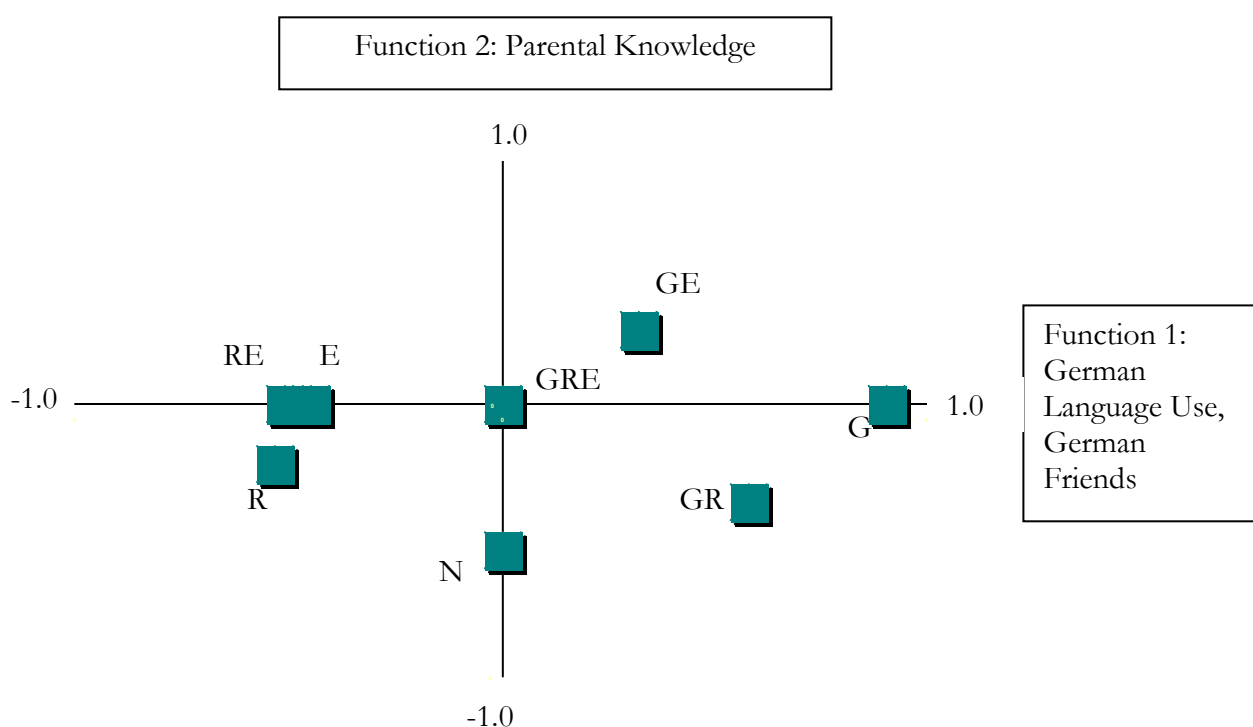


Figure 5.2. Group means for each function.

Similar positive results were expected for adolescents choosing multiple self-labels that include the German category (GR, GE, GRE). Overall, contrast analyses (see sections 5.1.1 and 5.1.2) confirmed these expectations. The most positive results among the multiple self-labels that include the German category were obtained for “German-Russian” (GR) labelers; the least for adolescents ascribing to all three categories (“German-Russian-ethnic German”, GRE). Their group classification probability was the lowest of all (12.3%). It thus seems that the “successful immigration” principle, implying that all adolescents including the German category in their ethnic self-label, is valid and holds especially true for the ethnic self-labels “German” (G) and “German-Russian” (GR).

Concerning unsuccessful immigration, only parental knowledge about the child’s spare-time activities and whereabouts was significant. Here, adolescents disagreeing with all three

categories (“None” labelers) had the most negative results, which also made them stand out in the discriminant analysis (Figure 5.2). In general, when regarding the findings of said analysis, three “clusters” emerged: On the right hand side, adolescents ascribing to self-labels including the German category (“German,” “German-Russian,” and “German-ethnic German”) assembled. On the left hand side, adolescents rejecting the German category (“Russian,” “ethnic German,” and “Russian-ethnic German”) laid close together. “German-Russian-ethnic German” labelers were “average,” positioned directly in the middle and “None” labelers, interestingly, fell out in terms of comparatively very little parental knowledge. This might mean that variables loading on function 1, as theorized, measure the latent construct of successful immigration, whereas function 2 might not, as expected, stand for unsuccessful immigration. Rather, it could be that this measures more developmental aspects of adolescence, irrespective of the immigration context (see chapter 6).

Table 5.4
Classification Probability

Ethnic Self-Label	Correct Classification
German (G)	37.9%
Russian (R)	28.9%
Ethnic German (E)	23.7%
German-Russian (GR)	28.6%
German-ethnic German (GE)	25.3%
Russian-ethnic German (RE)	12.7%
German-Russian-ethnic German (GRE)	12.3%
None (N)	30.8%
Average Classification 23.1%	

5.2 Ethnic Self-Labels and Adaptation

In the previous section, the principle of successful and less successful immigration were linked to different ethnic self-labels. In the same line of reasoning, the relationship between (multiple) ethnic self-labels and psychological and sociocultural adaptation among adolescent ethnic German immigrants was examined.

Before testing specific hypotheses, a multivariate analysis of covariance (MANCOVA) with ethnic self-labels and gender as between-subject factors and age as covariate was conducted to analyze their impact on depressive symptoms and delinquent behavior. There was a main effect of ethnic self-label on depressive symptoms, $F(7, 916) = 3.09, p = .003, \eta_p^2 = .02$, as well as on delinquent behavior, $F(7, 916) = 3.86, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .03$. Gender showed a significant main effect for depressive symptoms, $F(1, 916) = 44.57, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .05$, and delinquent behavior, $F(1, 916) = 43.62, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .05$. There was no significant interaction between ethnic self-label and gender for either depressive symptoms, $F(7, 916) = 1.58, p = .139, \eta_p^2 = .01$, nor delinquent behavior, $F(7, 916) = 1.09, p = .364, \eta_p^2 = .01$. Results will thus not be reported separately for each gender. Table 5.5 shows the means and standard deviations for each ethnic self-label concerning depressive symptoms and delinquent behavior.

Table 5.5

Means and Standard Deviations (in Parentheses) for Depressive Symptoms by Ethnic Self-Label

	Ethnic Self-Label							
	G	R	E	GR	GE	RE	GRE	N
Depression	1.79 (.92)	1.87 (.87)	2.03 (.85)	1.92 (.87)	2.11 (9.2)	2 (.94)	2 (.97)	2.36 (1.23)
Delinquency	1.18 (.24)	1.32 (.37)	1.25 (.28)	1.26 (.21)	1.21 (.32)	1.26 (.21)	1.24 (.25)	1.28 (.25)

5.2.1 Depressive Symptoms

A multivariate analysis of covariance (MANCOVA) with ethnic self-labels and gender as between-subject factors and age as covariate was conducted to analyze their impact on depressive symptoms and delinquent behavior. As mentioned above, there was a main effect of gender on depressive symptoms. Overall, girls reported significantly more depressive symptoms ($M = 2.19, SD = .06$) than boys ($M = 1.75, SD = .06$), with age again being controlled for. Additionally, there was a main effect of ethnic self-labels on depressive symptoms (as described above).

Hypothesis 7 predicted the relationship between ethnic self-labels and depressive symptoms. Adolescents regarding themselves as “Russian” (R) were expected to report the most depressive symptoms, followed by adolescents labeling themselves as “Ethnic German” (E), “Russian-ethnic German” (RE), or “None” (N). The least depressive symptoms were hypothesized for adolescents that consider themselves “German” (G), “German-Russian” (GR),

“German-ethnic German” (GE), or “German-Russian-ethnic German” (GRE). The expected order of ethnic self-labels was as follows: $R > E, RE, N > G, GR, GE, GRE$.

This hypothesis was not confirmed. A UNIANOVA contrast analysis with contrast weights of (5 1 1 1 -2 -2 -2 -2) did not show the expected differences between the ethnic self-labeling groups in depressive symptoms, $F(1, 937) = .01, p = .927, \eta_p^2 = .00$. As a MANCOVA (reported above) revealed a main effect for ethnic self-labels and depressive symptoms, Bonferonni post-hoc tests were run to identify the significant differences between ethnic self-labeling groups on this variable (Table 5.6).

In sum, the most striking finding was that adolescents labeling themselves as “None” reported the most depressive symptoms; significantly more than all other ethnic self-labeling groups. Adolescents labeling themselves as “German” (G) reported the fewest depressive symptoms, the difference being significant also to two ethnic self-labels that included the German category: “German-ethnic German” (GE) and “German-Russian-ethnic German” (GRE). “Russian” (R) labelers, who had been expected to report the most depressive symptoms, actually scored comparatively low on the depression scale. The difference between them and those choosing the other label referring to the heritage culture, “Ethnic German” (E), was significant in the sense that the latter reported more depressive symptoms.

The picture for multiple ethnic self-labels was less clear. Those including the German category (GE, GR, GRE) did not report the relatively low levels of depressive symptoms, and ethnic self-labels that exclude the German category did not report the relatively high levels of depressive symptoms that were anticipated- with the exception of “None” (N) labelers. The order of depressive symptoms was therefore: $N > GE > E > RE, GRE > GR > R > G$, as can be seen in Figure 5.3.

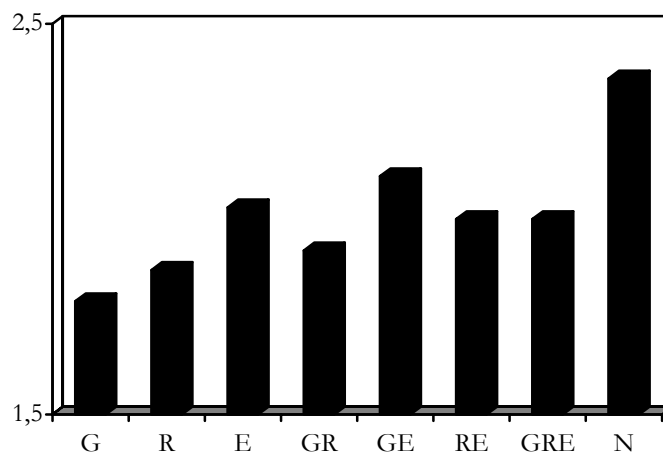


Figure 5.3. Depressive symptoms by ethnic self-label.

Table 5.6

Depressive Symptoms by Ethnic Self-Label (Bonferonni Contrasts)

(I) Ethnic Self-Label	(J) Ethnic Self-Label	Depressive Symptoms	
		Mean Difference (I-J)	Significance
G	R	-.120	.295
	E*	-.263	.038
	GR	-.136	.369
	GE*	-.314	.005
	RE*	-.217	.016
	GRE*	-.231	.025
	N*	-.611	.000
R	E	-.143	.309
	GR	0	.918
	GE*	-.194	.128
	RE	0	.370
	GRE	.112	.348
	N*	-.492	.002
E	GR	.127	.464
	GE	0	.715
	RE	0	.705
	GRE	0	.810
	N*	-.349	.039
GR	GE	-.177	.273
	RE	0	.585
	GRE	0	.541
	N*	-.475	.012
GE	RE	0	.363
	GRE	0	.484
	N*	-.298	.060
RE	GRE	0	.880
	N*	-.395	.006
GRE	N*	-.380	.012

Note. Significant differences are depicted by *.

5.2.2 Delinquent Behavior

A multivariate analysis of covariance (MANCOVA) with ethnic self-labels and gender as between-subject factors and age as covariate was conducted to analyze their impact on depressive symptoms and delinquent behavior. As mentioned previously, there was a main effect of gender on delinquent behavior. Boys overall reported significantly more delinquent behavior ($M = 1.32$, $SD = .02$) than girls ($M = 1.18$, $SD = .02$), with age again being controlled for. There also was a main effect of ethnic self-labels on delinquent behavior, as described above.

Hypothesis 8 predicted the relationship between ethnic self-labels and delinquent behavior. Adolescents regarding themselves as “Russian” (R) were expected to report the most delinquent behavior, followed by adolescents labeling themselves as “Ethnic German” (E), “Russian-ethnic German” (RE), or “None” (N). The least delinquent behavior was hypothesized for adolescents that consider themselves “German” (G), “German-Russian” (GR), “German-ethnic German” (GE), or “German-Russian-ethnic German” (GRE). The expected order of ethnic self-labels was as follows: $R > E, RE, N > G, GR, GE, GRE$.

This hypothesis was confirmed. A UNIANOVA contrast analysis with the contrast weights of (5 1 1 1 -2 -2 -2 -2) showed the expected differences between the ethnic self-labeling groups in delinquent behavior, $F(1, 934) = 11.79$, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$. The overall order of ethnic self-labels was R, N, RE, GR, E, GRE, GE, G.

Though this analysis was significant, it should be noted that contrary to expectations, “German-Russian” (GR) labelers reported more delinquent behavior than adolescents choosing ethnic self-labels including the German category and more than “Ethnic German” (E) labelers. Independent t-tests showed that this difference was significant in comparison only to one of the four groups reporting the least delinquent behavior, namely in comparison to “German” (G) labelers, $t = -2.28$, $df = 228$, $p = .028$.

In sum, adolescents labeling themselves as “German” reported the fewest delinquent acts, adolescents labeling themselves as “Russian” (R) reported the most delinquent behaviors. This was expected. Unexpectedly, however, multiple ethnic self-labels including the German category (GR, GE, GRE) did not report the expected low levels of delinquent behaviors. The order of delinquent behavior can be seen in Figure 5.4.

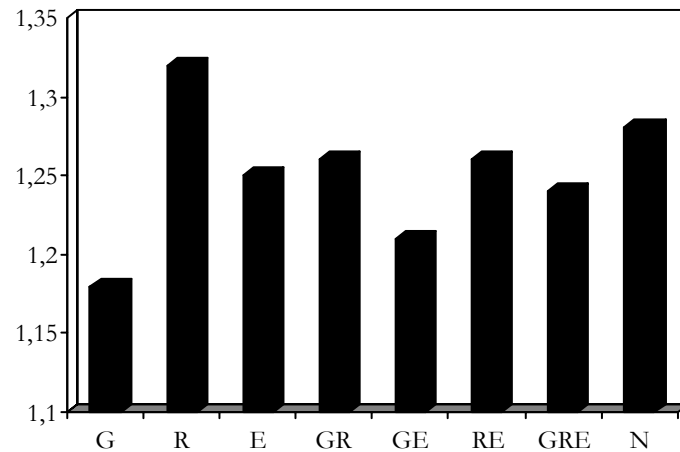


Figure 5.4. Delinquent behavior by ethnic self-label.

In sum, the *German* category (referring to national identity) was related to positive adaptation (few depressive symptoms and little delinquent behavior) if agreed to as a single ethnic self-label (“German”). Concerning depressive symptoms (psychological adaptation), the German category was also beneficial if combined with the Russian category (“German-Russian”). The other combinations (“German-ethnic German” and “German-Russian-ethnic German”) were related to comparatively moderate results. Concerning delinquent behavior (sociocultural adaptation), the German category was beneficial if combined with any other category.

The *Russian* category (referring to the heritage culture) is an interesting case, as it is related to two contrary results. Concerning depressive symptoms, agreement with this category was beneficial- either solely (“Russian”) or in combination with the German category (“German-Russian”). However, it was less positive if combined with the ethnic German category (“Russian-ethnic German” or “German-Russian-ethnic German”). Concerning delinquent behavior, agreement with this category (“Russian”) was clearly related to the most delinquent behavior. Combined with the ethnic German category (“Russian-ethnic German”), it was also harmful. However, this picture turned if combined with the German category (“German-Russian” or “German-Russian-ethnic German”). These two were favorable ethnic self-labels.

The *ethnic German* category (also referring to the heritage culture) was clearly outstanding neither in relation to depressive symptoms nor delinquent behavior. Best results showed if combined with the German category (“German-ethnic German”) and, concerning delinquent behavior, also when combined with both other categories (“German-Russian-ethnic German”).

As a single ethnic self-label ("Ethnic German"), it was unobtrusive. Rather poor results showed when combined with the Russian category alone ("Russian-ethnic German").

The "None" label was linked to the most depressive symptoms. This finding was rather impressive, as "None" labelers reported significantly more depressive symptoms than members of any other ethnic self-labeling group. "None" labelers also reported the second highest amount of delinquent behavior. Clearly, this is not a positive group to a member of in terms of adaptation.

Concerning the recent debate on whether single- or multiple ethnic self-labels are more beneficial (section 2.2.6), the results presented showed that it depends on the content of the label as well as on the outcome (psychological versus sociocultural) considered. A single ethnic self-label can be positively ("German"), in regard to sociocultural adaptation negatively ("Russian"), or even intermediately ("Ethnic German") related to acculturative adaptation. The same holds true for multiple ethnic self-labels. They, too, can be positively ("German-Russian"), negatively ("Russian-ethnic German"), or even intermediately ("German-Ethnic German") related to adaptation. The clearest results emerged for the single ethnic self-label "German," which was in all cases beneficial, and "None," which was in all cases harmful. These results are further discussed in chapter 6.

5.3 Summary

Six variables were examined as correlates for the formation of ethnic self-labels, and divided into those believed related to successful immigration (German language use, percentage of German friends, school commitment, and length of residency) and those believed related to less successful immigration (poor parental knowledge about the child's spare-time activities and whereabouts and perceived discrimination). It was hypothesized that adolescents including the German category in their ethnic self-label show signs of successful immigration, meaning they used the German language more often, reported a higher percentage of local German friends, and were more committed to school. Additionally, they were also predicted to have resided in Germany for a longer period of time in comparison with adolescents excluding the German category from their self-label. These assumptions were unrestrictedly confirmed for adolescents labeling themselves as "German." Findings were more mixed concerning adolescents choosing multiple self-labels including the German category (GR, GE, GRE). In general, however, a discriminant analysis confirmed that they scored higher on variables such as German language

use and German friends, compared to adolescents excluding the German category from their label.

It was further hypothesized that adolescents excluding the German category from their ethnic self-label show signs of a less successful immigration, meaning they report fewer parental knowledge and more perceived discrimination. While there were no group differences in perceived discrimination, this assumption was confirmed for parental knowledge. Especially “Russian” and “None” labelers reported comparatively few parental knowledge concerning their spare-time activities and whereabouts.

Whether ethnic self-labels are related to acculturative outcomes was tested by analyzing their impact on depressive symptoms and delinquent behavior. Concerning depressive symptoms, adolescents labeling themselves as “German” (G) reported the lowest, adolescents labeling themselves as “None” (N) reported the highest levels. The expected positive effect of including the German category in a multiple-self label (GR, GE, GRE) did not show. While these adolescents reported lower levels of depressive symptoms than “None”-labelers, they did not generally fare better than adolescents excluding the German category (R, E, RE). One exception were “German-Russian” labelers, that fared comparatively well.

Concerning delinquent behavior, labeling oneself as “German” (G) was related to the lowest amount of reported delinquent behavior, whereas labeling oneself as “Russian” (R) was related to the highest. The expected positive effect of including the German category in a multiple self-label (GR, GE, GRE) generally did show. Especially “German-Russian” labelers reported relatively low levels of depressive symptoms.

Successful immigration and positive acculturative adaptation was linked to a “German” self-label. Negating all categories and thus labeling oneself as “None” was the most problematic choice in terms of depressive symptoms; labeling oneself as “Russian” most problematic in terms of delinquent behavior. The notion that including the German category in a multiple ethnic self-label is beneficial is not valid, though it is not harmful, either. What can unconditionally be stated is that the “None” label, standing for disagreement with all three categories, is especially harmful and warrants further discussion.

6. Discussion

Immigrant adolescents stand in the focus of attention- for good reasons. How they adapt to their new environment has important consequences, for example for their civic participation, their productivity in the labor force, and the quality of their parenting (Hernandez & Charney, 1998). This will become even more striking as immigrants might provide a significant proportion of the future population growth in Germany, due to declining fertility rates. Thus, whether adolescent immigrants experience healthy development and successful adaptation to life in their new country profoundly affects not only them, but society as a whole for the coming years and decades. The formation of identity plays an important role in this complex societal and political challenge.

Identity helps to find one's place in, and to make sense of a world with a vast set of possibilities. "Because it provides an anchor in a sea of possibilities and allows one to define oneself as something in particular, identity would seem to have a great deal of practical value" (Schwartz, 2005, p. 294). In this sense, ethnic self-labels as cognitive aspects of identity were focused on in this dissertation and shown to be of relevance for the adaptation process among adolescent ethnic German immigrants.

In this chapter, the main results of the dissertation will be discussed first (section 6.1), leading to continuative questions and arguments (section 6.2). These also entail implications for interventions (section 6.3). Lastly, limitations of the study are discussed and an outlook for future research is given (section 6.4).

6.1 Discussion of Research Findings

In this dissertation, a different approach to identity research was taken. First, the "content" of an immigrant adolescents' identity was focused on, namely the ethnic self-label. Ethnic self-labels, describing how an adolescent regards him- or herself, are still widely neglected in acculturation research. We could show that this content is indeed meaningful. Second, we studied how specific ethnic self-labels are formed. This is a rather new approach, as most research examines the development of (any) identity- a shortcoming that has recently been criticized:

Although it would seem natural for identity status theory to incorporate Phinney's ideas (and therefore to incorporate an important element of Erikson's theory of social identity) identity status theory does not attend to ethnicity or nationality. This is a major weakness [...]. My recommendation regarding identity theory is to move beyond the status approach (Schwartz, 2005, p. 295 ff).

Beneficial and harmful ethnic self-labels were clearly identified, and it is promising to see how much three short items can reveal in terms of an immigrant adolescent's adaptation.

Because our research findings presented a different way of looking at identity research, results referring to these new aspects are to be discussed in this chapter. The content of an ethnic self-label makes a difference, so that adolescents of each ethnic self-label will be characterized first (section 6.1.1). One label was identified as especially harmful, namely "None." This leads to the next question, dealt with in section 6.1.1.1: What are adolescents like ascribing to this label? If more is known about them, reasonable intervention strategies may be developed. Second, the "choice" of one ethnic self-label over the other is discussed in regard to the German context. Was the distribution of ethnic self-labels, as found in this dissertation, to be expected (section 6.1.2)? Beneficial self-labels should be desired. But does the immigrant situation in Germany support the formation of specific beneficial ethnic self-labels? Further, since our research on the formation of ethnic self-labels was rather novel, we will discuss whether findings were self-evident and exactly as expected, or whether they did hold some surprises (section 6.1.3). Lastly, one critical theoretical objection to this dissertation should not be brushed aside: Are ethnic self-labels a key aspect for the regarded outcomes, or should they be placed at the same level as, for example, local language use and local peers? This is the topic of section 6.1.4. But first, the adolescents of each ethnic self-label will be characterized.

6.1.1 Filling Ethnic Self-Labels with Life: Description of Individual Labels

Most adolescents viewed themselves as "Russian-ethnic German" (24.9%), followed by those ascribing to the „German“ (18.8%) label. In hierarchical order, the following ethnic self-labels were chosen: "German-Russian-ethnic German" (14.8%), "German-ethnic German" (11.5%), "Russian" (11%), and "Ethnic German" (7.7%). The two ethnic self-labels selected least often were "None" (5.3%), and finally "German-Russian" (5.2%). Since most studies generally do not focus on such a content of identity, each ethnic self-labeling group warrants a closer look.

"German" ethnic self-label. These adolescents seem to be true winners: It was found that adolescents ascribing to the "German" ethnic self-label showed all signs of successful immigration. Over beneficial variables, they reported the highest, and over all harmful ones, the lowest ratings. The picture is clear and impressive: When immigrating to Germany as an adolescent ethnic German, it is best to assimilate fully. While this finding supports theoretical assumptions, it was unexpected that this picture was so clear only for the single ethnic self-label "German."

“German-Russian,” “German-ethnic German,” and “German-Russian-ethnic German” ethnic self-labels. In addition to adolescents choosing the German category as a single ethnic self-label, successful immigration had been expected for adolescents choosing multiple self-labels including the German category. This assumption could be confirmed, though not as convincingly as hypothesized. Concerning variables related to immigration, “German-Russian” labelers reported good results, and can generally be regarded as the most beneficial of these three labels. “German-Russian-ethnic German” labelers reported low or medium levels concerning successful immigration variables. Interestingly, when regarding the outcome variables depressive symptoms and delinquent behavior, multiple ethnic self-labels including the German category reported striking results in only one case, namely “German-ethnic German” labelers. They demonstrated comparatively high levels of depressive symptoms, but showed comparatively low levels of delinquent behavior. “German-Russian-ethnic German” remained inconspicuous concerning both variables, whereas “German-Russian” labelers reported significantly more delinquent behavior than “German” labelers. It seems that for the most part, multiple ethnic self-labels are, if not thoroughly beneficial, at least not harmful. This result is dealt with further in the more general discussion of single versus multiple ethnic self-labels (section 6.2.2).

“Russian“ and “Ethnic German” ethnic self-labels. Adolescents choosing these ethnic self-labels rejected the German category and were thus expected to show signs of a less successful immigration process. Indeed, this was found for “Russian” and, to a lesser extent, “Ethnic German” labelers. When looking at the adaptation variables, “Russian” labelers reported the most delinquent behavior, but the second lowest amount of depressive symptoms. “Ethnic German” labelers reported comparatively many depressive symptoms, but a medium amount of delinquent behavior. Put demotic: “Russian” labelers are happy delinquents, whereas “Ethnic German” labelers are sad low-keys. These findings are especially interesting, as they show that two categories referring both to the heritage culture show rather diverging results. The relationship between the two, Russian and ethnic German, is further discussed in section 6.2.1.

“Russian-ethnic German” ethnic self-label. This ethnic self-label was the one chosen most often by adolescents (24.9%). The good news is: These adolescents are unobtrusive, reporting medium levels of depressive symptoms and delinquent behavior. But there is also bad news: Adolescents in this group can be characterized as seldomly using the German language, having the lowest percentage of German friends, and as reporting comparatively little school commitment. They, similar to the concept of a separated acculturation orientation, declined participation in the mainstream culture. Although this group did not show high levels of depressive symptoms and

delinquent behavior, further studies should determine whether this ethnic self-label sets them on a negative track towards future depressive symptoms and/ or delinquent behavior.

“None” ethnic self-label. Put short and simple: Our findings suggested that any ethnic self-label is better than “None.” This holds true despite the fact that „None“-labelers did not generally show signs of less successful immigration. They participated in the mainstream culture by using the German language to an average amount and reporting local German friends to the same extent as most others. From then on, however, negative findings take over: “None”-labelers reported the least school commitment and comparatively very little parental knowledge. Concerning the outcome variables, they also reported the highest amount of depressive symptoms and delinquent behaviors in comparison with the other self-labels (in the case of delinquent behavior, only the “Russian” labelers reported more). Clearly, this was not a healthy group to be in, and membership did not seem to be influenced either by length of residency in the new country (they had been in the country for the second longest time in comparison with other ethnic self-labeling groups), nor by age (which had been controlled for in the analyses). Consequently, this problem will not just pass with time. These adolescents, though few in numbers, seemingly are the ones in highest need for interventions.

6.1.1.1 *“None” Labelers- Who are They?*

As “None”-labelers are the most striking ethnic self-labeling group (in addition to the “German”-labelers), a closer look is appropriate. None” labelers are “bad and sad,” reporting much depressive symptoms and delinquent behavior in comparison with the other ethnic self-labeling groups. Leaving aside the findings concerning their adaptation, the two variables that they scored poorly on were school commitment and parental knowledge. These variables were assumed to be relevant for identity formation. Other than German language use and German friends, however, these variables are at first sight not as straightforwardly related to acculturation (even if school commitment is part of the acculturation process model as presented by Esser, 1980). “None”-labelers scored averagely when it came to direct acculturation variables (language and peers), they scored poorly when it came to more general aspects of adolescent life (school and parents), and as an outcome, they reported comparatively much depressive symptoms and delinquent behavior.

It could be argued that their faring poorly had less to do with the acculturation process (the relatively long length of residency of more than eight years in the new country speaks for this, as well), and more with a generally troubled adolescence. Maybe these were generally disinterested adolescents, their not caring showing in poor school commitment and poor parental

knowledge, which is assumed to stand for a poor parent-child relationship, and also showing in not caring for either one of the categories.

To find out more about these adolescents, some exploratory analyses were run. Concerning demographic variables, two groups were compared, “None” labeler versus adolescents choosing other ethnic self-labels. No significant differences could be detected: “None” labelers did not differ in age, distribution of gender, country of origin, or length of residency. The number of ethnic Germans in their neighborhood also did not differ from other labelers.²⁹

Concerning variables related to acculturation, there were no differences between “None” labelers and others on whether they had wanted to immigrate to Germany, if their parents had prepared them for the new country, or if someone else had prepared them for the new country. They did not differ in how they rated their family’s financial situation in comparison with local Germans.³⁰

Taken these findings concerning demographic variables as well as those related to the immigration situation together, no differences could be detected between “None” labelers and others. Of course, these are only exploratory analyses. However, it seems that the idea that these adolescents did poorly in terms of depressive symptoms and delinquent behavior had less to do with the immigration situation than with adolescence-specific problems (family related). This was first revealed when analyses showed that “None”-labelers did not necessarily report low ratings on the successful immigration variables (see section 5.1). So how do “None” labelers do in regard to family-related variables?

“None” labelers reported significantly less family cohesion and significantly less social support than all other adolescents (scales for these measures are found in the Appendix 9.5). They reported their parents to fight with each other more than other adolescents, but not to physically hurt each other more. The marital status of the parents did not differ between the groups.³¹ In sum, this might mean that indeed, “None” labelers face more difficult family

²⁹ MANOVA results with “None”-labelers versus all others as between subjects factor and dependent variables age, $F(1, 843) = .51, p = .477, \eta_p^2 = .00$; origin, $F(1, 843) = .79, p = .376, \eta_p^2 = .00$; residency, $F(1, 843) = 2.07, p = .150, \eta_p^2 = .00$; neighbors, $F(1, 843) = .17, p = .679, \eta_p^2 = .00$. Chi square analysis results for gender, $\chi^2 = .170, df = 1, p = .680$.

³⁰ MANOVA results with “None”-labelers versus all others as between subjects factor and dependent variables wanting, $F(1, 656) = .01, p = .944, \eta_p^2 = .00$ and finances $F(1, 656) = 2.26, p = .134, \eta_p^2 = .00$. Chi square analysis results for parents, $\chi^2 = .360, df = 1, p = .644$; others $\chi^2 = 2.05, df = 1, p = .153$ (Chi square because both were categorical variables).

³¹ MANOVA results with “None”-labelers versus all others as between subjects factor and dependent variables family: $F(1, 804) = 8.83, p = .003, \eta_p^2 = .01$; support: $F(1, 804) = 14.57, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .02$; fight: $F(1, 804) = 5.51, p = .019, \eta_p^2 = .01$; physical: $F(1, 804) = .78, p = .378, \eta_p^2 = .00$. Chi square analysis results for marriage, $\chi^2 = .278, df = 1, p = .567$.

situations. Their maladaptation could be due to reasons that have little if anything to do with the acculturation situation, but point to more general adolescence-related troubles.

6.1.2 Distribution of Ethnic Self-Labels: A Surprise Finding?

“Her passport tells her she is German, but when she speaks of Germans, she talks about another people” – this quote, stemming from a major German newspaper (Kaiser, 2000), was cited at the beginning of this dissertation. After collecting data from more than 960 adolescents, a certain feeling of alienation seems to be confirmed for a large part of young ethnic German immigrants in Germany today: Roughly one half of all participants (48.9%) rejected the German category altogether. This is a disturbing tendency, as this rejection was established as harmful for the adaptation process. But is it also a surprising finding?

Evidence from other studies suggests that this result was to be expected. That adolescents seemed to identify more clearly with the Russian or ethnic German (compared to the German) category has been found previously in other immigrant samples: “Although host national and co-national identification represent independent domains of acculturation, it typically is the case (at least for sojourning samples) that co-national identification is somewhat greater than host national identification” (Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999, p. 436).

However, ethnic German immigrants are not sojourners, but Germans in the legal sense, immigrating to stay. Several arguments can be made for why 48.9% of adolescents saying “no” to the German category is an unexpectedly high figure. First, these adolescents hold the ethnic German status, which means that they have German ancestors. Their family background should thus be one link to the German category (in the sense that, casually spoken, “my grandmother was German, so I have some German in me, too”). Second, upon arrival to Germany, most received the German citizenship or are eligible for it. This officially and legally includes them in the German society (“I can prove being German, I hold the German passport”). Thirdly, all receive integration aids (such as housing and language classes). At least structurally, they are welcomed to their new country, which should be reflected in the self-label they ascribe themselves to. In addition to this, local Germans generally expect assimilation of ethnic Germans. Those that accept the integration aid and the possibilities offered to them by adopting some link to the German culture should benefit from the match between their own attitudes and behavior with the attitudes of local Germans. Fourthly, parents of ethnic German adolescents immigrate with the intention to stay permanently. Parents, as well as the society, thus anticipate these adolescents to try and fit in, of which an agreement to the German category would be a clear sign. A fifth reason for why more adolescent participants should have included the German category in

their self-label is that they reported relatively low levels of discrimination. Perceived discrimination is often cited as a reason for lack of identification with the receiving country, as it excludes minority members from the major society. While this lack of discrimination experiences does not necessarily immediately include them in the German society, it is one reason less for the rejection of the German category. And lastly, ethnic Germans do not differ in phenotype from local Germans, which may a) shield them from at least some types of discrimination and b) make integration easier.

Taken these arguments together, at least theoretically, adolescent ethnic Germans have all chances of blending in and adopting the German category. Their legal and historical conditions allow for it, the acculturation attitudes of the local Germans seem to demand it, and their own physical appearance does not hinder labeling themselves in a manner that includes the German category. These statements offer enough reasons to find the amount of ethnic German adolescents rejecting the German category surprisingly high.

On the other hand, arguments can be made that 48.9% negating the German category is not a surprisingly high rate at all. First, these adolescents were rooted in their respective countries before immigrating to Germany. Many of them have a non-German parent, and it can be assumed that most did not speak the German language and were not discriminated against as Germans in their country of origin (Dietz & Roll, 1998). As could be shown in section 4.3.1, regarding oneself as Russian (as an ethnic category) is thus a reasonable option for many of them. Second, immigration to Germany was not a “return home” for them, even if this is against official expectations. Germany is a country most of them knew little if anything at all about before coming. The country is culturally quite different from the one they were used to, not only regarding the language, but also, for example, the schooling system, food, or traditions. The discrepancy between these differences and the legal status as German has been cited as “consensual fiction of no cultural distance” (Nauck, 2001, p. 164, see section 2.1). A third, socially undesirable argument is that one important reason for immigration to Germany has nothing to do with roots to the German culture, but rather with the better economic situation in Germany. Families in which this reason was dominant might be less linked to their German heritage than others, and adolescents accordingly less inclined to agree to the German category. Fourth, the economic situation in Germany may be better than in the former Soviet Union, but has been in the downward spiral for some years. This, in turn, most probably leads to local Germans being less open to immigration of any kind, and further to less perceived or real chances of participation in the society (e.g., the educational or labor market) among ethnic German adolescents (Schmitt-Rodermund & Silbereisen, 2003; see section 2.1). An adolescent

perceiving less chances of participation in the society, accordingly, also may not label him- or herself as a member.

In research among Mexican and Filipino immigrant adolescents in the United States, a rise of a so-called “reactive ethnicity” has been observed (Rumbaut, 1998). This refers to the fact that many of these youths increasingly identify themselves by their foreign nationality, even if they have lived in the new country for a substantial amount of time and state that the US is the best country to live in. Maybe this trend is valid for adolescent ethnic Germans in Germany, as well, and leads to a large number of adolescents labeling themselves in a manner referring to their heritage culture. Though this is not an explanation for the phenomenon, it could be taken as an argument not to be surprised by the distribution of ethnic self-labels among our sample.

Surprising or not: 48.9% rejecting the German category is unacceptable. The aim is clear. Agreement with the German category is beneficial, and needs to be raised. In order to do so, a next question arises: Why do one half of these adolescents see themselves as (at least partly) German, while the other half does not? While this dissertation analyzed variables related to the formation of ethnic self-labels in general, the question is now whether there are factors that influence specifically the (dis-) agreement with the German category.

One reason not to identify with the German category may be that the adolescent had not wanted to come to Germany in the first place, and is thus less open to the new country. Indeed, those that included the German category had wanted to emigrate more strongly than those that excluded the category.³² This gives first evidence that maybe the latter group was more rooted in their countries of origin than the former.

Further, labeling oneself may have to do with experiences made *after* immigration. Concerning the perceived chances of participation in the receiving culture, adolescents agreeing with the German category wanted to reach higher degrees in schooling significantly more often than those negating the German category. This could not be shown for aspirations concerning occupational degrees.³³ In terms of schooling, one might thus argue that they perceive better chances of participation, while in terms of occupational degrees, this does not hold true. It may also be that they simply do not look so far ahead into the future.

³² UNIANOVA with „German“ vs. all others as between subjects factor and wanting to immigrate as dependent variable, $F(1, 667) = 6.65, p = .010, \eta_p^2 = .01$.

³³ UNIANOVA with „German“ vs. all others as between subjects factor and school aspirations $F(1, 948) = 4.07, p = .044, \eta_p^2 = .00$ and educational aspirations as dependent variable, $F(1, 909) = 0.76, p = .384, \eta_p^2 = .00$.

Returning to the finding mentioned above that less perceived chances of participation in the mainstream culture hinder identification with that culture (Schmitt-Rodermund & Silbereisen, 2003): One argument concerning this particular sample is that adolescent ethnic German immigrants often cannot keep up with local peers as they do not have the financial possibilities to join them in spare time activities such as going to the movies. Local German peers, however, have been established as important for the formation of an ethnic self-label that includes the German category (see section 2.3.2). Adolescents were asked whether their pocket money was high or low in comparison with local German adolescents. If those that believed their pocket money is average or high in comparison would more often agree with the German category than the others, this may be another hint that they can participate better in the mainstream culture than those that have lesser money. This, however, could not be shown. Adolescents agreeing with the German category did not have more pocket money than those disagreeing with the German category³⁴. In sum, some evidence was found for more closeness to the original and less to the new country for adolescents negating the German category, but not overwhelmingly so. Why some adolescents chose to include the German category and others do not should be further examined in future studies.

To summarize: Each ethnic self-label has a meaning of its own. For example, the “German” label is most beneficial, “Russian” labelers are more delinquent than others, but show few depressive symptoms and “None” labelers, though inconspicuous in terms of immigration variables, show harmful adaptation. Further, possible reasons for endorsing or negating the beneficial German category were discussed. It was found that adolescents agreeing with the German category had wanted to immigrate more strongly, had higher aims in terms of their schooling degrees, and scored higher on the acculturation dimension of wanting contact with local Germans.

6.1.3 Formation of Ethnic Self-Labels: More Surprise Findings?

Results showed that German language use, local German friends, and parental knowledge concerning the child’s spare-time activities and whereabouts played the most important role in ethnic self-label formation among ethnic German adolescents. That these variables were linked to the formation of ethnic self-labels was expected and hypothesized. Surprisingly, however, perceived discrimination, which on the basis of Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and ethnic identity research was clearly anticipated to be related to the formation of ethnic self-

³⁴ UNIANOVA with „German“ vs. all others as between subjects factor and pocket money as dependent variable, $F(1, 793) = 1.91, p = .167, \eta_p^2 = .00$.

labels, played no role in the formation of ethnic self-labels. And further, the relationship between length of residency and ethnic self-labels was weaker than expected, and the direction was other than hypothesized. Results concerning depressive symptoms and length of residency will be discussed here.

Perceived discrimination. Contrary to expectations, “None” labelers reported the fewest perceived discrimination. However, the differences between the groups were far from significant. This may have been due to very low variance in the data, ranging from a mean of 1.6 experiences in the last 12 months to 1.9 experiences, and an overall low amount of perceived discrimination.

Whether adolescent ethnic German immigrants really experience this little discrimination remains unclear. One explanation for the low rates could be that they perceived less discrimination than actually meant by the offenders. There is uncertainty in the literature whether individuals rather attribute negative experiences to discrimination or to their own faults or behaviors. The Personal/ Group Discrimination Discrepancy Hypothesis (Taylor et al., 1990) states that individuals usually dislike loss of control over the appraisal of their abilities. They prefer feeling that good performances on their part, for example, lead to a positive appraisal. Therefore, they rather attribute negative experiences to their own faults, which they can change, than to discrimination, which they cannot change. On the other hand, Crocker and Major (1989) assume that attributional ambiguity leads to generally interpreting negative situations as discrimination, because this protects from a negative self-perception. If experiences can be attributed to prejudice and discrimination on part of the other, they have nothing to do with one's own abilities or characteristics.

Both hypotheses have, to our knowledge, not been tested among adolescent ethnic Germans, so one can only speculate that the low level of reported discrimination among this group may have to do with the way these adolescents interpreted their negative experiences. If the low rates were due to attribution processes, these results would support the Personal/ Group Discrimination Discrepancy Hypothesis (Taylor et al., 1990). As second explanation for the low rates of discrimination may be that it is not socially desirable to report personal discrimination and that individuals prefer attributing negative experiences to their own qualities and abilities (Kappen & Branscombe, 2001). It may thus be that the amount of perceived discrimination reported is lower than the actual rate perceived.

Another explanation may lie in the scale used, which stems from Strobl and Kühnel (2000). Adolescents were asked to rate their experiences in four areas, namely at school/ work, in administrative offices, at bars/restaurants/discotheques, and at shops. There was a longer

discrimination scale available, which was used in the larger study as part of a daily hassles scale. It included nine items such as “I was teased by others because I am an immigrant” or “My classmates ignored me because I am an immigrant,” which might have been more age-appropriate (even though the scale by Strobl and Kühnel was developed for adolescent ethnic German immigrants, as well). Again, incidents reported were very few,³⁵ which means that on average, adolescents marked between “never happened to me” and “happened to me 1-2 times.” The variance, however, was larger than when using the discrimination scale by Strobl and Kühnel (2000), and differences between groups became significant. However, when including this scale instead of the other in the discriminant analysis, perceived discrimination again did not correlate at a significant level with either one of the two significant functions. In sum, it is assumed that the scale used to measure perceived discrimination was appropriate, and that it was not a measurement error leading to the missing importance of this variable in the formation of ethnic self-labels.

Finally, there might simply be only little discrimination against ethnic German adolescents, perhaps adequately reported by the participants. Adolescent ethnic Germans are not visibly distinguishable from local Germans (unless by dress code, which can be influenced by the individual), which allows them to blend in the mainstream culture if so wished. In previous studies, it has been found that looking different from locals is one major cause for discrimination (e.g., Krahé, Abraham, Felber, & Helbig, 2005), which does not apply to this sample and may shield them from negative experiences.

In sum, Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) predicts perceived discrimination to enhance identification with the Russian or ethnic German group. Research in developmental psychology expects a relationship between perceived discrimination and ethnic identity especially in late adolescence (e.g., Phinney, 1998), though the direction of the effect is not as clearly stated. Empirical studies on the effect of perceived discrimination and ethnic identity have presented mixed results (Liebkind et al., 2004). Our study supported the notion that perceived discrimination does not play an important role in the formation of ethnic self-labels among adolescent ethnic German immigrants.

Length of residency. Our results regarding the formation of ethnic self-labels provided another noteworthy result, this time related to the variable length of residency. This variable was, as predicted, longest among adolescents labeling themselves as “German.” However, it had further been anticipated that adolescents choosing multiple ethnic self-labels including the

³⁵ $M = 1.55$, $SD = .73$ on a 5-point Likert scale. This scale ranged from “never” – “1-2 times” – “3-5 times” – “6-10 times” – to “more than 10 times.” Cronbach’s alpha for this scale was .80.

German category have resided longer in Germany than those excluding this category. This could not be shown. In fact, those adolescents ascribing to the multiple ethnic self-label “German-Russian-ethnic German” had a significantly shorter length of stay than “German” labelers, and “None” labelers had resided in Germany for an average of eight years (compared to an average of 8.8 years for German labelers). It was concluded that feeling German and accordingly labeling oneself does not come with more time spent in the country. The straight-line assimilation model (Gordon, 1964), which assumes that over time, immigrants assimilate to the new culture, clearly did not apply to this sample- even though desired by the German society.

The conclusion to be drawn is striking: Alienation, especially for “None” labelers, is a problem that will not simply go away, but needs to be tackled. And even though adolescents rejecting the German category had lived on average between 6.4 and 6.9 years in Germany (the lowest numbers of all groups), six years with a local passport and apparently full political equality and still not being attached to the new (and, as a matter of fact, old) home country also gives a notion that here, the immigration process is not going well.

6.1.4 Is the Detour via Ethnic Self-Labels Sensible?

Several studies have related (at least some of) the variables that were linked to ethnic self-labels in this study directly to depressive symptoms or delinquent behavior. For example, little parental supervision, which comes close to parental knowledge, has been identified as a risk factor for problem behavior (e.g., Jacobson & Crockett, 2000; Jessor & Jessor, 1977; Pettit, Laird, Dodge, Bates, & Criss, 2001; Shedler & Block, 1990). Why then, it may be asked, take the detour via ethnic self-labels to explain the acculturative outcomes? Could it not also be that the variables that were linked to the formation and membership of ethnic self-labels are directly related to depressive symptoms and delinquent behavior, and that ethnic self-labels are just one among several relevant factors?

Two linear regressions were performed with depressive symptoms and delinquent behavior as the dependent variables. In the first step, the six variables previously used to predict membership in one of the ethnic self-labeling groups (German language use, percentage of local German friends, parental knowledge concerning the child’s activities and whereabouts, school commitment, perceived discrimination, and length of residency) were entered. Ethnic self-labeling groups were coded as dummy variables (see Cohen, Cohen, West, & Aiken, 2003), and entered in the second step. For depressive symptoms, the six variables alone highly significantly accounted for 6% of the variance. Ethnic self-labels added another significant 2.1%. For

delinquent behavior, the six variables alone highly significantly accounted for 14.4% of the variance, with ethnic self-labels not significantly adding any.

Now, is the detour via ethnic self-labels sensible or not? The answer is yes for depressive symptoms. The added variance is small, but significant. In section 2.4.3.1, several causes for depression were listed. Some of these causes are independent of the immigration process, for example life stresses such as major adverse life events, accumulative daily hassles, or problems related to school, parents, peers, and partners. Others are related to the acculturation situation, such as the immigration itself (moving from one place to the other), perceived discrimination, fewer available resources, and ethnic identity crisis. As can be seen from this list, an ethnic identity crisis is regarded as a risk factor. This is reflected in the presented data: Ethnic self-labels significantly add variance.

A reason for why the variance added is relatively small may be that ethnic self-labels do not stand for ethnic identity *crisis*, which is a risk factor for adolescent immigrants. Some of the ethnic self-labels measured here may be more linked to an ethnic identity crisis than others, but it was beyond our data to analyze this (see section 6.4.1 for assumptions concerning the relationship between ethnic self-labels and different stages of identity development). As such, all ethnic self-labels (the more beneficial as well as the less beneficial ones) were included in the analyses, and thus, it is not surprising that the variance was relatively small.

However, whether the detour via ethnic self-labels is sensible in terms of delinquent behavior is less certain. In a recently published study on immigrant adolescents in the Netherlands, a stronger ethnic identity corresponded to more psychological problems among adolescent Turkish immigrants, whereas ethnic language proficiency did not contribute to this prediction (Vedder, 2005). Among Surinamese adolescents, neither ethnic language proficiency nor ethnic identity contributed to the prediction. Similar analyses were run for the prediction of behavioral problems, where ethnic identity did not contribute any variance in neither immigrant sample.

Vedder concluded that his findings were inconsistent with the so-called ethnic identity model (Alkan, 1998). This model was inspired by Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and suggests that immigrants are torn between cultures. If their heritage culture is not honored by the larger society (the out-group), this is harmful for their well-being, as the comparison between the in- and the out-group devalues their self-esteem. Developing a strong ethnic identity and thus feeling positive about one's in-group, on the other hand, is related to psychological well-being. However, Vedder's study supports another model, the language assimilation model. This focuses on the importance of national language proficiency for the adaptation of immigrant students. In

the Netherlands, there has been growing support for this model, implying that national language is a better predictor of academic performance and social participation than measures of ethnic identity (e.g., Driessen, 2000). However, a reason for why the expected link between ethnic identity and behavioral problems was not found was not given.

Returning to the findings from this dissertation, which were mostly consistent with those described above, what may explain that ethnic self-labels did not add any variance in the explanation of delinquent behavior? First, according to the concept of adolescence-limited delinquency, some deviant behavior in this age-group is normative (Moffitt, 1993). This is independent of the immigrant status and the respective ethnic self-label chosen. Second, the occurrence and variance in the reported delinquent behavior was very low, so that the finding might be due to methodological reasons. Related to this, it could be that even though anonymity was guaranteed, social desirability prevented an adequate report of delinquent behavior (which, in contrast to depression, might lead to legal consequences). Third, discrimination and perceived lower chances of participation in the mainstream culture were identified as risk factors for adolescent problem behavior among ethnic German immigrants (Schmitt-Rodermund & Silbereisen, 2003). No differences in terms of perceived discrimination, and no differences in terms of perceived participation chances were found between different ethnic self-labels in the sample studied for this dissertation. It may be that these risk factors are evenly distributed across all ethnic self-labeling groups; a further hint that these do not differ so much in areas relevant for the prediction of delinquent behavior.

Ethnic self-labels integrated several relevant risk and protective factors for both analyzed acculturative outcomes. That they did not add much in predicting them above and beyond these factors was not surprising, given the many possible risk and protective factors that influence depressive symptoms and delinquent behavior. Rather, that they significantly explain variance in regard to depressive symptoms among such a – in terms of ethnic self-labels - diverse sample is promising. It may be concluded that ethnic self-labels measure an entire bundle of relevant factors. Future studies are needed to show that ethnic self-labels are an effective and economic measure to establish whether an immigrant adolescent is on the right track in terms of his or her adaptation to the new country.

6.2 Continuative Questions Regarding the Research Findings

The findings from this dissertation touch important matters in terms of psychological, political, and societal implications. As relevant as these results are, they should not be the endpoint, but rather raise further questions. Three of them will be brought up in this chapter, starting with one specific to the situation of adolescent ethnic German immigrants in Germany. How they choose between three cultural categories is related to their adaptation- however, two of these categories refer to the heritage culture and the question is, whether Russian and ethnic German can be used interchangeably (section 6.2.1).

Whether single or multiple identities are beneficial is the next issue dealt with. Again, the German context seems to play an important role in answering this question. In Germany, it is believed that one can have just one fatherland. This is reflected, for example, in rather restricting laws concerning dual citizenships. However, adolescents choose more than one category to identify with, if given the choice. How can they bring together more than one culture? Germany is a country that expects assimilation from all immigrants, which seems less and less realistic lately. Multiculturalism, however, is causing discomfort, steamed up by the tense situation the Netherlands, our formally tolerant neighbor, or, even more recently, the riots in another neighboring country: France. The question of whether a single or multiple ethnic self-label is beneficial- and even possible- in the specific German context is of relevance for future policies and will be dealt with in section 6.2.2. And finally, as our research findings at first glance seem to contradict years of research, we owe it to cultural and ethnic identity research to pose a last question, namely whether ethnic or national identity is better for the individual (section 6.2.3).

6.2.1 Can “Russian” and “Ethnic German” be Used Interchangeably?

The interviews conducted in the framework of this study suggested that while a distinction between German and Russian was clearly made, this was not the case for Russian and ethnic German. Rather, these two are somehow used interchangeably. Linda, age 20, described that she could clearly distinguish Germans and ethnic Germans on the basis of clothes and makeup. This holds true for males and females alike. When asked whether she could also distinguish ethnic Germans from Russians, she replied: “That I can’t say.”

Jelena, age 17, stated that among friends, the distinction between Russian and ethnic German is not made: “One doesn’t say, hey, are you an ethnic German or a foreigner or illegally here or something like that. One doesn’t talk about it. One knows, they know Russian, they stem from Russia, they were born there.” Later on, when she described a typical ethnic German, she moved from calling them “Russlanddeutsche” (which is ethnic German) to Russian. Jelena used

the words interchangeably, though probably not consciously. When she was explicitly asked whether ethnic German to her is the same as Russian, she clearly answered “yes.” Irina, age 17, agreed: She did not really know whether her friends are ethnic German or Russian, and she was not interested in this, either: “If I know they’re from Russia, that’s absolutely enough for me.” She, as well, used the terms ethnic German and Russian interchangeably, even when she talked about someone as close as her former boyfriend.

Returning to the quantitative findings, the only significant difference between “Russian” and “Ethnic German” labelers was that “Russian” labelers reported more delinquent behavior. In both cases, it was beneficial if the German category was included in the label, unless it became too complicated and all three categories were agreed upon (“German-Russian-ethnic German”). In the discriminant analysis reported in section 5.1.3, “Russian,” “Ethnic German,” and “Russian-ethnic German” labelers were all lumped very closely together and accordingly, the latter group could not be well predicted (12.7% versus a 12.5% a-priori likelihood of correct classification).

Interestingly, however, even though the differences between “Russian” and “Ethnic German” labelers were only marginal in terms of successful and less successful immigration variables, the two do differed in relation to the adaptation variables. “Ethnic Germans” showed (though insignificantly) more depressive symptoms than “Russian” labelers. The contrary was true for delinquent behavior: “Russian” labelers showed significantly more than “Ethnic German” labelers.

The Russian category refers to a group perceived as having low status. This is reflected, for example, by the derogatory way this term is sometimes used by local Germans. While agreement to this category apparently did not affect well-being, the reason it was linked with more delinquent behavior may be a sign for protection against this low status. Delinquency is often used by adolescents to gain higher status, for example through respect for their actions from their peers and by being perceived as mature. This, in turn, could also buffer from depression.

The ethnic German category, on the other hand, may be perceived as the entrance ticket into the new culture. If acceptance is not as expected and adolescents do not feel as if they are treated as fellow citizens, this may lead to depressive symptoms. The distinction between the Russian and the ethnic German category seems to be small but powerful, and worth a closer examination in the future.

To conclude, even though adolescent ethnic Germans themselves do not consciously distinguish between the two categories Russian and ethnic German, the outcomes for those

agreeing or rejecting them differ. Future studies could investigate which apparently subtle characteristics divide these two. It may be that the assurance the ethnic German label gives the adolescent in terms of legal equality sets them on a concordant track to German norms and values, thus shielding them from delinquent acts. It may be that the assurance the Russian label gives the adolescent in terms of belonging to a larger minority group (including Russians and ethnic Germans alike) allocates them with more resources such as friends, and thus shields them from depressive symptoms. However, these assumptions- for now- need to remain speculative.

6.2.2 Is a Multiple Ethnic Self-Label Better than a Single One?

A currently much debated question in psychological research is whether multiple identities are harmful or beneficial for the individual (see section 2.4.2.1). The importance of multiculturalism has been recently acknowledged, but the phenomenon has rarely been investigated (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005). Resolving this issue would lead to a better understanding of multicultural people and how their ethnic or national identity should be supported, for example in interventions. Further, bi- or multiculturals pose an interesting theoretical and methodological challenge to psychological research, as little is known about how they manage and negotiate their multiple cultural identities (Benet-Martinez et al., 2002). It should be noted that most research deals with bicultural individuals and not those that may incorporate three categories in their self-labels, as is the case with ethnic German immigrants.

In general, older evidence supports the notion that multiple identities are harmful for the individual, whereas more recent research backs the idea that biculturalism is positive (for example in terms of school achievement or well-being). Altogether, findings concerning bi- and multicultural identities are mixed. What did the results of this dissertation show in terms of single and multiple ethnic self-labels?

The present findings of this dissertation support neither the straight-line assimilation perspective, nor the notion that multiculturalism is necessarily beneficial. This leads directly back to the quotation cited in the beginning of this chapter, calling for research moving away from the status approach and focusing on the content of identity instead (Schwartz, 2005). It does not seem to be a matter of single or multiple ethnic self-label whether the label is beneficial or not, but of which category is included and which outcome is regarded.

Several attempts have been made to explain mixed findings concerning bi- and multicultural identities. One reason may lie in the vast differences between receiving countries (Verkuyten, 2005). Some countries, such as the United States, are more open to multiculturalism and consider themselves “melting pots.” Others, such as Germany, prefer assimilation or separation. Another reason for contradictory findings concerning the benefits of multiculturalism may be the cultural distance between the cultures. If, for example, an individual stems from two rather similar cultures such as Norway and Sweden, being bicultural may be easier and less conflict-laden than when the cultures are very dissimilar, such as Korea and the United States. In such a case, mainstream and ethnic cultures may be perceived as highly distinct, separate, and even oppositional. Affected individuals may also think of themselves as biculturals, but they might be more aware of the discrepancies between the two cultures. These discrepancies are then seen as a source of internal conflict. “As a result, these biculturals keep the two cultural identities dissociated and report that it is easier to be either ethnic or mainstream but hard to be both at the same time” (Benet-Martinez, et al., 2002, p. 495). Thus, the question of whether multiple identities are beneficial or harmful is a person – context interaction.

Individual differences may further contribute to the contradicting results. Benet-Martinez and colleagues (2002) argue that there are two distinct types of biculturals. For one, biculturalism is positive whereas for the other, biculturalism is negative. According to this model, those that show positive biculturalism have developed compatible bicultural identities and do not perceive their cultures as conflicting, despite challenges such as different cultural demands or the potential threats of minority group status and discrimination. This does not necessarily mean each culture is identified with to the same extent, however, these biculturals manage to integrate both in their everyday lives by, for example, showing behavioral competence in both cultures or switching behavior when the situation demands it. Those for whom biculturalism is negative, on the other hand, report difficulties when trying to incorporate their cultures into a cohesive sense of identity. Although they identify with both cultures, they perceive the two as distinct or even oppositional (e.g., Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997; Vivero & Jenkins, 1999).

The idea of two types of biculturals may explain the conflicting findings concerning benefits and harms of multiple identities among adolescent ethnic Germans. Specific multiple ethnic self-labels may be more related to a beneficial biculturalism, whereas others could be a sign for a conflicting biculturalism. “German-Russian” was such a relatively positive self-label where apparently, the two incorporated categories matched and did not lead to internal conflict, but allowed for successful cultural frame switching. Adolescents from our interview study, for example, described how the proficiency in two languages was beneficial for them in school or

among friends, or how they greet Russians on the street, but not local Germans. These different behaviors had positive effects, and the two categories complemented each other.

Contrary to this, the multiple self-label “Russian-ethnic German” was more harmful and may point to a mismatch. Interestingly, the mismatch does not seem to be between the two cultures incorporated within the label. As noted before, Russian and ethnic German are two categories that are often used interchangeably by the adolescents, and were positively correlated with each other. Internal conflicts between these two categories due to their being regarded as oppositional thus cannot be the reason for maladjustment. Rather, the mismatch seems to be between these two related categories (Russian and ethnic German) and the mainstream society (whose category, German, is being excluded). This explanation is somewhat surprising, as Germany is commonly regarded as a country expecting assimilation or separation. The ethnic self-label “Russian-ethnic German” should thus not necessarily provoke conflict. However, bridging one’s immigrant origins and the new culture has been cited as important to adjustment (Hernandez & Charney, 1998), and these adolescents apparently fail at exactly that. In accordance with the research by Benet-Martinez and colleagues cited above, our research findings suggest that it is not a matter of single or multiple ethnic self-label whether adolescent ethnic German immigrants show adaptation. Rather, it is important to regard the new country as part of one’s self. This is further supported by our findings that the “Russian” and “ethnic German” label as single labels are not particularly beneficial (even if they are by themselves not as harmful as their combination).

6.2.3 Ethnic and National Identity- Beneficial or Harmful?

Research findings from a vast variety of nations showed that *ethnic* identity is related to an immigrant’s positive adaptation to the new country. Findings concerning *national* identity were less clear. In some cases, highly acculturated adolescents reported negative adaptation, such as increased use of alcohol, tobacco, and illicit drugs (Hernandez & Charney, 1998). In other cases, a high national identity was regarded as beneficial. Then, contradicting this, a “positive correlation between ethnic identity and psychological problems” was found and published (Vedder, 2005, p. 405). Indeed, this matches findings from this dissertation even though the focus here was on ethnic self-labels, and not ethnic identity. Further, it was claimed that “attention to relationships with the national culture, for example by stressing the need for proficiency in the national language, supports immigrants’ sociocultural adaptation” (Vedder, 2005, p. 397). Again, these findings resemble the ones from this dissertation. The challenging question is now: Are ethnic and national identity beneficial- or harmful? Reasons for conflicting findings may lie in a)

different measures used, b) differences between the immigrant samples, and c) differences between the receiving countries.

Measurement issues. Ethnic identity can be operationalized in different manners (see section 2.2.4). Some researchers created an index that included, for example, variables such as language proficiency and use, whereas others relied on more common measures like the one by Phinney (MEIM; 1992) or Sellers, Shelton, Cooke, Chavous, Rowley, and Smith (MMRI; 1998)³⁶ that assess different stages of identity development. While ethnic self-labels as the cognitive component are most probably correlated with ethnic identity, this could not be examined in this dissertation and could be a reason for contrasting findings concerning ethnic identity literature. However, this reasoning does not apply to the findings by Vedder (2005), who used the common MEIM scale. Measurement differences as the *only* reason for conflicting findings can thus be excluded.

Differences between immigrant samples. Differences between immigrant groups and their impact on acculturation have been extensively described in the Theoretical Background. Divergences related to factors such as (socioeconomic) status, reasons for immigration, cultural distance to the new culture, or phenotype may all influence whether it is better to keep connected to the heritage culture or to assimilate. In the case of ethnic Germans in Germany, it further seems to be the case that the ones immigrating now differ from those having arrived earlier in their closeness to Germany. That immigrant groups (as well as receiving cultures) change over time, and that this change may influence whether a high ethnic or a high national identity is more beneficial, warrants careful evaluations when citing older research or research from other samples.

In some cases, parents wish their children to achieve what they often cannot, namely to blend in. This has been shown, for example, among Hindu families in the Netherlands (Avoird, 2001). Here, parents stimulated their children to use Dutch at home and in other settings, as they assumed that this is an important condition for their and their children's social position and well-being. These families were characterized by a strong push towards assimilation. The same, as has been argued before in this dissertation, may apply to ethnic German immigrants.

³⁶ The "Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity" (MMRI; Sellers et al., 1998) is another recently more often used method to measure ethnic identity. The central aspects are private regard and centrality. Private regard measures individuals positive and negative feelings towards, for example, African Americans and their membership in that group. Sample items would be "I am happy that I am Black" and "I am proud of Black people," which are almost identical to the affirmation, belonging, and commitment factor of the MEIM. Centrality measures the extent to which being, for example, African American is central to the self-definition of subjects. Sample items include "Being Black is a major part of my identity" and "I feel close to other Black people." Again, these very much resemble items from above mentioned factor of the MEIM.

However, such a parental wish for assimilation may “backfire” and lead to what has been termed reactive identity. If the adaptation is problematic and accompanied by acculturative stress, this may trigger an interest in ethnic language and identity (Vedder, 2005). It has been found that this reactive identity arises especially among immigrants of the second or third generation. Reactive identity is identification with a heritage culture that is not known firsthand by the adolescent. It may be that this makes all the difference when regarding whether ethnic or national identity is beneficial in the sector of differences between immigrants. Indeed, the study by Vedder (2005) was conducted among second-generation immigrants. However, this dissertation, leading to similar results, was carried out among first-generation immigrants, for which this reasoning may only be restrictedly valid (e.g., if they have arrived at a very young age). Still, it is often described by them that in the former Soviet Union, they were regarded as “the Germans,” whereas in Germany, they are “the Russians.” This is a constant reminder that they are different, and may support a reactive identity towards the Russian category that is born out of distress, and as such not beneficial.

Differences between the receiving countries. Lastly, differences between receiving countries may also play a role in the value ethnic and national identities have for the immigrant. It has been suggested (e.g., Phinney, Horenczyk, et al., 2001) that the role of ethnic identity in the adaptation process is related to the acculturative demands of the overall context. Peers or teachers (immigrant and nonimmigrant), for example, may encourage or reject multiculturalism. If in addition to an encouraging environment immigrants have a strong desire to retain their identities, ethnic identity is likely to be strong and beneficial. In the face of real or perceived discrimination, on the other hand, while some immigrants may downplay or reject their own ethnic identity; others may assert their pride in their cultural group and emphasize solidarity as a way of dealing with hostility (Liebkind, 2001). This high ethnic identity in an intolerant surrounding may arouse stress and other psychological problems, which could explain the finding in the Turkish sample in the Netherlands (Vedder, 2005). Here, a stronger ethnic identity corresponded to more psychological problems and may reflect problems with the environment more than problems with one’s self.

This may apply to adolescents in Germany, as well. “Russian” labelers have casually been termed the “happy delinquents” in a previous section. This perfectly matches the stereotype the German public holds of adolescent ethnic Germans in general. The low status of the heritage culture may lead to a high ethnic identity (or ethnic self-label referring to the heritage culture) being harmful rather than beneficial. Further, this is an explanation for why the second category referring to the heritage culture, namely ethnic German, is less harmful than the Russian category.

The term ethnic German, or “Aussiedler,” has a less negative connotation than “Russian,” for both the immigrants as well as the receiving population. Its meaning reflects more a legal state than an emotional group membership.

In sum, the relationship of ethnic and national identity and their role in the psychological well-being of immigrants can best be understood as “an interaction between the attitudes and characteristics of immigrants and the responses of the receiving society” (Phinney, Horenczyk, et al., 2001, p. 493). The particular characteristics of an immigrant group, as well as of the new society and its specific treatment of immigrants (e.g., through official policies and informal encounters), create a series of cumulative and mutually reinforcing actions and reactions that determine the shape and direction of the processes of acculturation and identity re-building (Colic-Peisker & Walker, 2003).

6.3 Lessons to be Drawn: Implications for Interventions

In the Netherlands, director Theo Van Gogh was murdered on November 2nd, 2004. His assassin was a 26-year-old man, born and raised in the Netherlands and holding dual citizenship, including the Dutch. In the United Kingdom, bombs killed approximately 56 people on London subways and one bus on July 7th, 2005. The bombs apparently were planted by four men- all born in England with an immigrant background. While these cases are extreme, they nonetheless demonstrate how urgent and essential the topic of immigration remains for our societies. Successful integration of immigrants is an increasingly important challenge for both the immigrants as well as members of the receiving society.

Along several important dimensions, immigrant adolescents appear to be protected from negative risks. This advantage, however, tends to decline with length of residency in the new country and from one generation to the next. Further, the factors responsible for providing such a protection are largely unexplored and unknown. (Hernandez & Charney, 1998). An achieved ethnic identity has been shown to be such a factor and to provide protection among several immigrant groups, and in the present dissertation, it was shown that labeling oneself in a manner that includes the receiving country’s category is beneficial for the adolescents. Thus, ethnic self-labels may be either risk or protective factors, depending on their content. It was also shown that mainly three factors seem to be linked to the formation of ethnic self-labels among young ethnic German immigrants, namely German language use, German friends, and parental knowledge. Interventions could a) target these variables, and b) target ethnic self-labels directly.

6.3.1 (Very) Basic Principles of Interventions

It has been suggested that interventions should be multi-factor, multi-system, and multi-level (Ellis, 1998). Multi-factor implies that interventions address all risk factors, as well as special needs, and protective factors. Multi-system means that interventions should regard different areas in which the factors may occur, such as family, peers, school, or community. For example, it is not the adolescent ethnic German immigrant “deciding” alone whether a certain ethnic self-label evolves or not. Rather, how these adolescents are perceived by locals in various contexts plays a major role, as does the response of the receiving community to the immigrants (Dietz & Roll, 1998; Hernandez & Charney, 1998). And finally, multi-level refers to the idea that resources (such as, for example, language classes) must be reachable for the adolescent both in physical terms as well as in knowledge such as how to access them. In the case of adolescent ethnic German immigrants, public policies seem to play a major role, as well, for example by securing their citizenship or providing integration aids.

Interventions are not universally applicable to all adolescents. For example, the findings from this dissertation suggested that it would be wrong to offer the same kind of intervention to all adolescent ethnic German immigrants. Indeed, a first hint is given that “German” labelers are doing well, that “Russian-ethnic German” labelers could use support in terms of their adaptation process due to the immigrant situation, and that “None” labelers may have problems that do not necessarily stem from their status as ethnic Germans, but are more family related. Of course, these interpretations should be handled with caution, as the aim of this research was not to prepare interventions. However, the results concerning ethnic self-labels may lay some groundwork.

Some interventions cause more harm (iatrogenic effect) than they do good (Dishion, McCord, & Poulin, 1999). For example, group counseling and guided group interaction has produced negative, rather than positive effects on delinquent and antisocial behavior (e.g., Feldman, 1992). On the other hand, not conducting interventions, or conducting them at the wrong time (e.g., in the wrong age-group) is a missed opportunity in the prevention of more possibly more serious problems in the future (Stouthammer-Loeber & Loeber, 2002).

6.3.2 Interventions in the Case of Ethnic German Immigrants

Keeping the above stated principles in mind, what should be done regarding the situation of adolescent ethnic German immigrants? First, and in accordance with the call for multi-factor interventions, ethnic self-labels may be used to assess special needs of certain subgroups. Starting

on a positive note, developments in research include models that shift the balance of attention away from a focus on risk toward positive outcomes and the protective or conditions that enable adolescents to thrive despite of difficult circumstances (e.g., Hernandez & Charney, 1998). Adolescents that included the German category in their ethnic self-label showed such positive results, especially “German” and “German-Russian” labelers.

6.3.2.1 Increasing Agreement with the National (German) Category

German language use. As German language use is closely linked to the German category, language classes seem relevant and are already offered to immigrating ethnic Germans. However, participation has decreased from 21.59% in the year 2000 to 17.6% in the year 2002 (Bundesministerium des Inneren, 2003). From January 1st, 2005, a new immigration law (“Zuwanderungsgesetz”) came into effect which regulates so called integration-courses. These include language classes, introductory courses to the German legal system, culture, as well as history, and are assessed at 630 hours total. Previously, language classes were financed for twelve months, then ten, and later eight months until in the year 1993, a law (“Kriegsfolgenbereinigungsgesetz”) limited the funding to six months total (Dietz & Roll, 1998). Every ethnic German immigrant is entitled to participation. The expenses are covered by the German federal government, which estimates the costs at approximately 188 Million Euro per year (Integrationskursverordnung).

Results of this dissertation showed that the aim of these classes is important. However, how effective they are is less clear. Dietz & Roll (1998) found that language classes are much needed and participation is high, as they do not only promote language proficiency, but also provide room to prepare for education and later job occupation. An adolescent in our own interview study (Viktor, age 17) agreed and voiced the opinion that newly arriving ethnic German immigrants should first not participate in regular school classes, but be given language classes instead. As it is language use, and not ability, that was shown to be linked with ethnic self-labels, situations in which to speak German (outside of school) should be created and supported. Since German is mostly spoken outside the home, the frequent call for more youth clubs by participants in our interview study could be one step in this direction. Adolescents claimed to often not know what to do in their spare-time. Jelena (17), for example, would like to take dance lessons, and Dimitri (16) wished for less expensive possibilities to play billiard with his mixed friendship group.

All in all, the current language classes should be evaluated instead of limited. Effective courses need support, but in addition to language proficiency, language use should be promoted, as well. For example, leisure facilities that are attractive to ethnic, as well as local Germans may be

a place to sensibly encourage positive contact between the groups (with all do caution, see, for example, Allport, 1954 and Stephan and Stephan, 2001).

Local German friends. Above arguments lead directly to another variable influential in the formation of ethnic self-labels, namely the percentage of local German friends. Though one cannot force friendships to a certain people, possibilities for meeting them in the first place can be created - or prevented. For example, ethnic German immigrants first come to absorption camps, where many of them met their first friends which are, of course, other ethnic Germans. Though this is very beneficial in the first time after immigration, (additional) friendships to local Germans should be supported later. Then, their situation permitted them only to housing in rather cheap areas that they were oftentimes assigned to- and which are predominantly in neighborhoods comprised of other ethnic Germans. In our sample, adolescents labeling themselves as “Russian-ethnic German” reported the highest amount of ethnic Germans in the neighborhood, “German” labelers the lowest.³⁷ This is another argument for policies supporting more mixed neighborhoods or, the other way around, against “ghettos.”

6.3.2.2 Increasing Agreement with the Heritage (Russian or Ethnic German) Category

Results from this dissertation suggested that increasing a heritage category makes sense only when simultaneously backing the German category. If this is considered, interventions concerning ethnic identity development may give an idea how to raise identification with these categories. One example for such an intervention stems from the United States. Here, Haitian adolescents participated in a program to increase their ethnic identity (Bachay, 1998). Haitians are a very low-status group, and adolescents often avoided complications by hiding their heritage. The intervention program included several sessions during which adolescents were provided with the opportunity to explore their status as minority group members, and to confront the effects of prejudice and stereotyping. The sessions were held in the heritage language (Creole), and consisted of three conceptual domains. First, adolescents learned about their history and culture, for example about religion, education, or music. Second, interpersonal problem solving was trained. And third, conflict resolution skills were taught with the intention to promote a bicultural model of adjustment. Results showed that indeed, the adolescents that participated in this intervention scored higher on the ethnic identity measure (MEIM, Phinney, 1992) than

³⁷ A UNIANOVA with ethnic self-labels as independent, and number of ethnic German immigrants as dependent variable revealed a significant difference between the ethnic self-labels, $F(7, 945) = 3.28, p = .002, \eta_p^2 = .02$. Bonferonni post-hoc analyses showed the difference between “Russian-ethnic German” and “German” labelers to be highly significant, $p = .001, \eta_p^2 = .01$.

adolescents from a control group. Whether they, in turn, also showed better adaptation or more well-being was unfortunately not reported.

Again, results from this dissertation showed that agreement to a category referring to the heritage culture (Russian or ethnic German) was beneficial if accompanied by the German category. Interventions in Germany should thus aim at both: Enhancement of the heritage culture (for example through programs as the one described above), as well as the national category. Future studies could, for example adapt programs like these to the German context.

6.3.2.3 Interventions With “None”-labelers

These adolescents showed the poorest outcomes. They seemed free of “immigration problems,” as they reported using the local language or having a rather unobtrusive percentage of local German friends. However, the problems they face should not be underestimated: Adolescents reporting more depressive symptoms are at a greater risk for psychiatric illnesses once they reach adulthood (Loeber et al., 2000). Further, comorbidities in terms of health risk behavior are also frequent (Oppedal & Roysamb, 2004).

The variable that most clearly distinguished “None” labelers from others was parental knowledge concerning their spare-time activities and whereabouts. Several intervention programs exist to improve the quality of the relationship between parents and children, for which parental knowledge may stand (e.g., Dishion & Andrews, 1995). Fewer, however, target immigrant groups, maybe because they are more difficult to reach. That intergenerational conflicts between immigrant adolescents and their parents are an issue, however, is not disputed. A generational and cultural gap evolves among first generation adolescents and their parents in the sense that the parents retain values and norms from the heritage culture, whereas adolescents acculturate quicker (the case seems more complicated among later generation adolescents, see section 2.3.4). These intergenerational and intercultural differences may become a source of conflict between immigrant parents and children (Ying, 1999). As immigration is often motivated by the desire to provide a better future for the children, adolescent choices and views that are inconsistent with that of their parents may cause conflict, and adolescents feel caught between their parents and the larger society. They may experience identity confusion; being viewed as not quite German by the larger society and not Russian anymore, either.

Few studies target this culture gap as source of conflict, one again stemming from the United States and designed for Chinese parents (Ying, 1999). This program tried to reduce the culture gap by bringing it to the parents’ awareness, by promoting their cross-cultural competence, by tackling their parenting skills (especially communication and sense of control),

and by helping them to better cope with the stresses of cross-cultural parenting. It was reported that the intervention was effective and raised, among others, efficacy in parenting. Further, the author explicitly stated that even though the intervention was created for Chinese immigrants, it should be easily adaptable to other immigrant groups.

However, parental knowledge is not only affected by individual competence. In a study by Crouter, Bumpus, Davis, and McHale (2005), parental knowledge was linked to higher education and higher prestige jobs for the fathers. It may be that the lower socioeconomic status of many ethnic German repatriates shows its effects through parental knowledge. Intervention in this regard, for example, is the program for academics by the Otto Benecke foundation (Bundesministerium des Inneren, 2002). Here, ethnic German academics receive stipends for a training that aims at enabling them to work in their field of expertise in Germany. Why these interventions could be beneficial for the adolescents is simple: Happy parents have happier kids. Programs like the ones mentioned should thus be either adapted to the German context and implemented or, if already implemented, evaluated to see their effects and how they could further be improved.

6.3.3 Limitations

Interventions aimed at promoting identity development in adolescents and emerging adults have been conducted within the past 15 years or so. Only a few studies have been published, but they nonetheless have shown promising results. The question is, however, whether identity intervention actually can do more than simply increase participants' scores on identity questionnaires. Identity interventions would be useful then if they can promote positive and reduce negative outcomes (Schwartz, 2005).

The aim of this dissertation was not to lay the ground for specific interventions concerning adolescent ethnic German immigrants' ethnic self-labels and accordingly, the comments made in this section need to remain theoretical. However, it was discovered that ethnic self-labels may be a sensible detector for whether an adolescent is on the "right" or "wrong" track in terms of his or her adaptation. Longitudinal studies are needed to evaluate if this finding can be upheld. However, if it could, ethnic self-labels can prove themselves a very useful and economic tool in intervention designs. All in all, identifying "Russian-ethnic German" and "None"-labelers is easy: Our measure was composed of three simple questions.

6.4 Limitations and Outlook

The topic of ethnic self-labeling among adolescent ethnic German immigrants was embedded mainly in ethnic identity research. However, several differences exist between the concepts. In this section, the findings presented in this dissertation are linked to ethnic identity research. Integrating the two, ethnic self-labels and ethnic identity, would be the next sensible step in this area of acculturation research.

6.4.1 Research Findings in the Light of Ethnic Identity Research

In most research, rather than solely regarding ethnic self-labels, the affective and evaluative components of ethnic identity are examined as well. However, some studies found links between the cognitive component of national identity (e.g., “I describe myself as Norwegian”) and internalizing problems without including the affective and evaluative components of the national identity (e.g., Kvernmo & Heyerdahl, 2003). In accordance with this, our research showed that the cognitive component (ethnic self-label) alone seemed sufficient to find similar results as in other studies among other samples that used more specific and detailed measures such as the MEIM or MMRI. Clearly, agreeing with a certain category, whether it be national (e.g., German), ethnic (e.g., Russian), or politically ascribed (e.g., ethnic German) does not go without affect, evaluation, centrality, private regard, or, in short, meaning. In sociology, researchers more often focus solely on the cognitive component than in psychology. While it is unjustified to say that the other components are less important, there seems to be a need for more research concerning the relationship of the components and their respective predictive power for different outcome variables.

Nonetheless, the measure of ethnic self-labels clearly misses the developmental component as in other ethnic identity measures such as the MEIM (see section 2.2.4). For a better understanding of the mechanisms and possible interventions, it would be interesting to study whether the currently held developmental stage has an impact on the track a certain ethnic self-label sets the individual.

This idea results in two different ways how a specific label may be beneficial or risky for the involved individual. To illustrate this thought, the harmful “None” label should serve as an example. If the individual chooses this label during his or her exploration phase, it may point to a severe identity crisis. If, on the other hand, this label was chosen at the achieved stage, this would mean it does not point to an identity crisis, but more to “final” detachment from the society (whether old or new).

What difference would this make? None at first sight. To stick to the example, “None”-labelers reported much delinquent behavior when compared to other ethnic self-labeling groups. This was independent of their (unknown to us) developmental stage. Membership in a particular ethnic self-labeling group per se was related to a particular behavior (e.g., more or less delinquency). However, to possibly predict the prospects of these group members, an additional look at the developmental stage might be needed. The difference may lie in whether this is just a group to be in temporarily (exploration stage), or whether it is a more definite and final group membership (achieved identity).

Why might this be so? Moffitt’s model of antisocial behavior (1993) provides the theoretical background for the link between identity crisis and delinquent behavior. She proposed that some delinquent behavior limited to the adolescent years is “adaptive social behavior” (p. 685). One of the reasons given for the onset of delinquent behavior in this age-group is social mimicry, which implies learning from antisocial models, mostly delinquent peers. The gratification of delinquent behaviors lies in power and privileges, such as respect from these peers. Adolescents at the exploration stage discover who they are by participating in activities with their peers (Pugh & Hart, 1999).

Those in an identity crisis are in a searching phase. Contact to delinquent peers may be even more of an option for them than for those with a more developed identity, as they are more open to several possibilities concerning who they are and accordingly, who they hang out with. As peers reflect who one is, this positive feedback might thus be an adequate way to cope with an identity crisis. If it could be shown that specific labelers (for example those regarding themselves as “None”) were in the exploration phase, their negative outcomes (in terms of delinquency at least) would be a little less worrisome, as it would be somewhat normative and they would be expected to possibly change their label once they become more secure and are less dependent on the delinquent peer group. In other terms, the label would be seen more as a state than a trait.

If, on the other hand, “None” labelers were at the achieved stage (thus “high” on their ethnic identity), exploration and stumbling across delinquent peers would be more problematic. Their delinquent behavior might thus be due to perceived general detachment from the society and not necessarily “only” adolescence-limited. Further, it would be expected among achieved labelers that group membership is more stable (trait-like), which would be negative for those ascribing to a harmful ethnic self-label, but beneficial for those adopting a positive one.

A second possibility is that a specific ethnic self-label by itself reflects a certain stage of identity development. This would, in the best case, imply that individuals over time move away from harmful ethnic self-labels such as “None” towards more beneficial ones. Though this

assumption remains speculative for now, a first indicator for the relationship between ethnic identity development and ethnic self-labels may be age of participants. Theoretical approaches to ethnic identity suggest a progression of identity starting in (early) adolescence with a diffused or naïve state of awareness, leading perhaps to an exploration in the meaning of ethnic identity (Pegg & Plybon, 2005). Younger adolescents should be examining who they are, and the older they get, the more often should the ethnic identity status be “achieved.” If ethnic self-labels reflect a certain stage of identity development, this may show in the age structure of the members of each label.

Indeed, a chi square analysis showed no relationship between age and ethnic self-labeling groups³⁸. Further, a simple t-test also did not reveal any differences between ethnic self-labels including the German category versus those excluding it.³⁹ It was not the case that with age, adolescents moved from a less successful ethnic self-label such as “None” to a successful label such as “German” or even just from a label excluding the German category to one including it.

In sum, while the ethnic self-label an adolescent ascribes to may be a good indicator (which could not be answered in this dissertation), age clearly is a poor indicator for the stage of ethnic identity development. However, other researchers could show that ethnic identity plays a role in adaptation, and we could show that ethnic self-labels matter, as well. The next step is to bring the two, ethnic self-labels and stages of ethnic identity development, together, and examine a) whether ethnic self-labels as the cognitive component may be sufficient in the analysis of specific outcomes, b) whether ethnic self-labels differ in their meaning according to the developmental stage an adolescent is in, and c) if and in which way single and multiple ethnic self-labels are related to different stages of identity development. It may be, for example, that our finding that multiple self-labels were not in all cases as beneficial as previously believed has to do with an interaction effect concerning the developmental stage an adolescent is in.

6.4.2 Outlook for Future Research

Longitudinal studies. The questions posed in this dissertation (how adolescent ethnic German immigrants label themselves, which variables are linked to this choice, and how these labels are related to acculturative outcomes) could only be answered cross-sectionally, which clearly impairs their explanatory power. Overall, the development, acculturation, and adaptation of immigrant youths involves developmental issues and processes that are both similar and different to the experience of non-immigrant adolescents (Hernandez & Charney, 1998). Commonalities exist,

³⁸ $\chi^2 = 3.319$, $df = 7$, $p = .854$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$.

³⁹ $t = -1.38$, $df = 192$, $p = .169$.

and the acculturation experience occurs within the same broad cultural context for children in both immigrant as well as non-immigrant families. Therefore, the trajectories of a beneficial development are best measured and analyzed through longitudinal data collection. For example, the variables thought influential for the formation of ethnic self-labels should be measured prior to assessing ethnic self-labels, and similarly, the consequences of specific ethnic self-labels should be measured later. Even more informative would be to follow the course of ethnic self-labels over a longer period of time and across several assessment points (Schwartz, 2005).

As immigrants will make a larger and larger proportion of Germany's inhabitants, how they perform as adult citizens is of great importance. It would be of interest to link findings from the adolescent age to outcomes in adulthood. Longitudinal studies that follow individuals from, for example, school or job education to occupation, could shed light on mechanisms that lead to successful adaptation in adulthood. Trajectories predicting this adaptation from adolescence to adulthood could help implement qualified interventions at younger age.

Multi-method studies. Even though this dissertation evaluated cross-sectional data, "longitudinal" questions were asked of the adolescents in the interview study. They were asked how they regarded themselves in the past, and how they expected their ethnic self-label to change in the future. Some adolescents regarded their ethnic self-labels as stable, for example Dimitri, age 16, or Jelena, age 17, who said: "I have always regarded myself like this [Two-thirds German, one-third Russian]. That won't change in a year. Then I'll have lived longer here, but will remain partly Russian, because of my father and such."

However, others clearly remembered changes and expected future changes in their identity. Linda, age 20, explained that she used to feel more German about three years ago: "I only had German friends." Now she regarded herself as half ethnic German, half German, but how she would feel in a year, she did not know. Alexander, age 17, believed his identity had remained stable, but could change in the future "depending on whether I will have moved to Russia or not." And Irina, 17 years, described a kind of identity crisis at age thirteen: "I always wanted to be German, and I was not so happy about being born in Russia. I don't know, somehow that was a spleen. But then, around 15, it was gone." She could date this so accurately because a trip to Russia had changed her perspective and helped her accept where she came from: "When I got back, I realized that it's kind of stupid to deny my heritage." For the future, she did not expect any more changes- being legally German and born in Russia, both influential characteristics would not differ in a year's or more time.

Viktor, age 17, observed a different kind of change in his perception of himself: “Before, I was not really interested. But now, the feeling [of being Russian] has risen because I am more aware now where I am from, how much it is worth. I mean, not everybody stems from St. Petersburg.” This resembled Konstantin’s (age 17) experiences: A year ago, he would have considered himself purely Russian, as his knowledge of the German language was still poor and he did not have local German friends. But now, he was “a bit older and experiences from the parents and that I’m not completely Russian but German-Russian- I learned that from my parents. I thought I was Russian, I did not now. I did not care.” He, too, did not expect any more changes in the future, because he now had Russian as well as German friends.

It could be shown that ethnic self-labels matter. Some authors (e.g., Dietz & Roll, 1998) have published lists of what adolescents rated as being important for “being German.” However, explaining what exactly ethnic self-labels mean to the respective adolescents was only tapped by the interviews and out of reach of the quantitative research. This is a pledge for the future use of multi-methods, namely to additionally include qualitative research. The interviews conducted for this dissertation helped clarify some of the aspects that were just tapped by the questionnaire. While surely, there are definite disadvantages to qualitative methods (e.g., the subjectivity both in terms of the participants as well as the researcher, the time-consuming interviewing and interpretation, etc.), they add a richness to research that make the acculturation process much more graspable (see, for example, Rosenbloom & Way, 2004; Way et al., 2005). Quantitative measures have already previously been called for in the immigration context (e.g., Hernandez & Charney, 1998).

Studies among (non-student) adults. Recently, the need for more identity research among adolescents (instead of university students) has been expressed (Schwartz, 2005), which was addressed in the present research. However, adult immigrants have to renegotiate their identities as well, which makes them a promising age-group for future studies. It would be interesting to see whether the same mechanisms that were found for adolescents exist for the formation of ethnic self-labels and whether they are related in similar ways to acculturative outcomes such as depressive symptoms. What Rumbaut stated for immigration to the United States may be even more valid for countries like Germany: “Becoming American... may well turn out to be a lifelong occupation [suggesting] the importance of applying a life-course perspective to the analysis of social change and individual identity” (1997, p. 498).

Studies among families. Children and adolescents are known to acculturate quicker than their parents; in some cases, parents try to keep up. Parent-child relationships were better when parents and children spoke the same language at home (Tseng & Fuligni, 2000). If the new language was spoken, it means that parents had to learn it relatively quickly and be less afraid of, for example, having an accent or making mistakes in front of their children. This can be quite a task for parents, especially because in most cases, their children will maintain higher competencies in this regard than them.

In terms of identity, similar mechanism may be expected. On the one hand, parents want their children to acculturate to the new culture and do well there. On the other hand, less attachment to the heritage culture can lead to more distance to the parents. Children adopting new and different values and norms can seem threatening to the parents, as they suggest less understanding and respect for their way of being. On the other hand, children may feel torn between their parent's way and the expectancies from the new culture. How these different requirements are handled within the family context could prove useful in better understanding the adaptation process of parents, as well as children and adolescents.

How parents and children negotiate the two identities can be further complicated by reactive identities. As explained before, in some cases, younger generations adopt a stronger identity towards their heritage culture, which oftentimes does not resemble the culture as the parents know it. Rather, it is romanticized and activated due to negative experiences in the new culture. This may lead to further tensions between parents and children. Comprehending how these are handled would be a valuable addition to ethnic identity research, which so far has focused mostly on the developmental stages leading to better adaptation outcomes. The interplay between different family members and different identities within one family has been mostly overlooked.

Very recently, the following recommendation was made for future research on identity: To “map the course of identity development and to identify antecedents and consequences of identity development,” and to ascertain the “conditions and characteristics that lead to more versus less successful identity development” (Schwartz, 2005, p. 300). This is a nice summary of the present research. Although Schwartz clearly hopes for longitudinal studies, a first step has been undertaken in this dissertation by identifying relevant correlates of ethnic self-labels, and by being able to link ethnic self-labels to adaptive outcomes among this sample of immigrant adolescents.

6.5 Final Thoughts

On October 27th, 2005, the death of two French-African adolescents triggered violent riots in France that lasted for nearly three weeks. Many of those participating in the riots were immigrants who feel they are treated as second-class citizens- even if having lived in the country for generations and holding citizenship (Graff, 2005). A similar situation was feared in Germany.

In the face of the riots in France, Brandenburg's minister of the interior Schönbohm demanded a better integration of immigrants in Germany. Schönbohm said that especially adolescents needed a perspective. In this country as well, the tendency towards the formation of ghettos was apparent. In metropolitan cities, many Turkish adolescents lived with language deficits and poor schooling. For this reason, they had hardly any chances on the employment market. Schönbohm warned that riots as in France could erupt in Germany, as well (MDR Info Radio, November 5th, 2005).

What Heitmeyer (1997) deemed "parallel society" and what the media has long picked up on seems to mirror reality in Germany. Adolescents like Larissa, mentioned in the introduction of this dissertation, feel alienated in their own home country, the one they came to hoping to live as Germans among Germans. This is reflected in our findings that almost half of all adolescents in our sample rejected the German category from their ethnic self-label, an alarming and disturbing sign in an immigrant group that holds German citizenship and with it, assumingly, access to full and equal participation in mainstream society. While on the one hand we could show how to make adolescent ethnic German immigrants feel more "German," we could also show that the ethnic self-label ascribed to is not meaningless to the adolescent, but indeed related to depressive symptoms. Further, and maybe more of an eye-opener to the ones responsible, we could show that ethnic self-labels of adolescent ethnic German immigrants fall back on all members of society, by being directly related to delinquent behavior. Inducing a "more German" ethnic self-label thus does not only make the concerned individual more happy, but is beneficial for the entire population and should be worth the effort.

7. Summary

In 2002, the year data collection for this dissertation began, about 9400 adolescent ethnic Germans from former Soviet Union states immigrated to Germany. Their ancestors had settled in countries of the former Soviet Union, sometimes generations ago, where they kept their minority status. Now, many of these families are using the opportunity to return to Germany, where –in most cases- they receive the German citizenship.

Immigration is a stressful event for any individual; even more so in adolescence. The teenage years are regarded as a critical period during which adolescents usually struggle with determining their identity, asking themselves who they are and who they want to be. This is difficult enough without changing place of residency. The adolescents studied for this dissertation, however, knew little or nothing about the “home country” Germany they migrated to. Nonetheless, they came as Germans and receive benefits such as citizenship and integration classes - in contrast to other immigrants, for example Turks. When these adolescents ask themselves who they are, three answers are possible in terms of their ethnic identity: They can regard themselves as “German” (national identity), which they legally are. They can regard themselves as “Russian” (ethnic identity), which is the culture they stem from. They can also regard themselves as “ethnic German” (“Aussiedler”), the politically ascribed term that serves as their entrance ticket into the country and is the status they held already before moving to Germany. To make matters more complicated, they can of course regard themselves in any combination of above three categories, for example as “German-Russian”. This leads to eight possible ethnic self-labels an adolescent ethnic German may ascribe to.⁴⁰ These different ethnic self-labels are likely to be associated with acculturative outcomes, such as depressive symptoms and delinquent behavior.

The aim of this dissertation was to answer the following two main questions: One, how do contextual and individual factors correlate with the formation of (multiple) ethnic self-labels? And two, are these ethnic self-labels related to acculturative outcomes, such as depressive symptoms and delinquent behavior? Before turning to these two areas of interest, it first had to be determined how adolescent ethnic Germans regard themselves at all, meaning how the participants are distributed across the eight possible ethnic self-labeling groups.

Altogether, 968 adolescents age twelve to 19 participated in this questionnaire study. They were first generation immigrants, meaning they were born outside of Germany. The ethnic self-label most of them selected was “Russian-ethnic German” (24.9%), followed by “German” (18.8%). The ethnic self-labels least often chosen were “None” (5.3%) and “German-Russian”

⁴⁰ German, Russian, Ethnic German, German-Russian, German-ethnic German, Russian-ethnic German, German-Russian-ethnic German, or None of the three.

(5.2%). Most adolescents selected a multiple self-label, agreeing with two or more categories (56.6%), whereas 37.5% agreed with a single self-label (just one category).

Returning to the first question of this dissertation, which are the factors that are related to this choice of ethnic self-label? Six variables from five contexts were thought relevant: German language use (context: culture), the percentage of German friends (context: peers), parental knowledge about the child's spare-time activities and whereabouts (context: family), perceived discrimination (context: society), school commitment (context: school), and, additionally, length of residency in the new country. These were divided into variables believed standing for "successful immigration" (German language use, German friends, school commitment, and length of residency) and "less successful immigration" (absence of parental knowledge and perceived discrimination). It could be shown that the first three variables were especially important in the formation of ethnic self-labels. Those with higher ratings on the successful immigration variables were adolescents that included the German category in their label ("German," "German-Russian," and "German-ethnic German") with the exception of "German-Russian-ethnic German" labelers. Adolescents labeling themselves as "Russian," "German-Russian," or "None" reported less parental knowledge, a sign of less successful immigration. Interestingly, the effect of perceived discrimination played no significant, and length of residency only a minor role. While it is challenging to interpret the missing link between perceived discrimination and choice of ethnic self-label, the explanation for length of residency is simpler: Just because an ethnic German adolescent lives in Germany for a longer period of time does not mean that he or she will feel German- unless other things happen, such as making German friends.

Now that there is a better understanding of the factors influencing the choice of ethnic self-label, the question is: Does it really matter? Is the choice of ethnic self-label related to outcomes such as depressive symptoms or delinquent behavior? Concerning the former, the answer is clearly: Yes. Adolescent ascribing themselves to the "German" label reported fewer depressive symptoms than all others, and adolescents labeling themselves as "None" the most. The picture was less clear for other single- and multiple self-labelers. Concerning the question whether ethnic self-labels are related to delinquent behavior, the answer is clearly yes again. Again, adolescents labeling themselves as "German" reported less delinquent behavior than all others, but this time, adolescents labeling themselves as "Russian" reported the most (followed by "None" labelers). It could also be shown that multiple self-labels including the German category were beneficial in terms of delinquent behavior (with the exception of "German-Russian"). Overall adopting a "German" ethnic self-label is related to successful immigration, and

negating all categories (regarding oneself as “None”) is the most problematic choice. Including the German category in the label is advantageous, if not as clearly as had been hypothesized.

What can we make of these findings? First, identity matters, or rather: Ethnic self-labeling matters. How an adolescent regards him - or herself in the new country is not simply a matter of time, but mainly dependent on the amount of German language use, the percentage of German friends, and parental knowledge. How an adolescent regards him-or herself further is linked to depressive symptoms and delinquent behavior. It cannot be denied that making these 9400 adolescents that immigrated in 2002- and all those coming before and after- feel at home in Germany is important. It is manageable, for example by providing (and improving) language classes and opportunities to participate in the mainstream society, which will (hopefully) lead to German acquaintances and friends. We have to make sure that we do not create a “parallel society,” but that we truly integrate those fellow Germans returning to their unfamiliar home country.

8. Zusammenfassung

Im Jahr 2002, dem Jahr der Datenerhebung für diese Dissertation, wanderten etwa 9400 jugendliche Aussiedler nach Deutschland ein. Ihre Vorfahren waren schon vor Generationen aus verschiedenen Gründen in die ehemalige Sowjetunion immigriert, wo ihnen eine Reihe von Minderheitenrechten garantiert wurden. Heute nutzen viele Familien die Möglichkeit, nach Deutschland zurück zu kehren, wo sie im Regelfall auch die deutsche Staatsbürgerschaft erhalten.

Immigration ist ein zentrales Lebensereignis. Immigration während des Jugendalters ist eine zusätzliche Herausforderung für die Betroffenen, da sie sich schon von vornherein in einer kritischen Lebensphase befinden, in der sich Jugendliche üblicherweise die Frage beschäftigt, wer sie sind und wer sie sein wollen. Dies ist schon ohne Immigrationshintergrund schwierig genug. Die Teilnehmer dieser Studie wussten jedoch wenig oder gar nichts über ihr „Vaterland“ Deutschland, in welches sie nun zurückkehrten. Dennoch kamen sie ausdrücklich als Deutsche und erhielten alle damit verbundenen Rechte- anders als andere Immigranten wie beispielsweise solche aus der Türkei. Wenn man jugendliche Aussiedler fragt, wie sie sich in Bezug auf ihre ethnische Identität sehen, sind somit drei Antworten möglich: Sie können sich als Deutsche bezeichnen (nationale Identität), welches sie im legalen Sinne auch sind. Sie können sich als Russen (ethnische Identität) bezeichnen, da sie aus dieser Gegend kommen. Sie können sich schlussendlich auch als Aussiedler betrachten, welches die politische Bezeichnung für ihren Status ist, den sie bereits vor der Einwanderung hielten und welcher ihre Eintrittskarte nach Deutschland bedeutete. Um das Ganze noch zu verkomplizieren, können auch mehrere dieser Kategorien ausgewählt werden, also beispielsweise „Deutsch-Russe.“ Dies führte zu insgesamt acht möglichen ethnischen Selbstbezeichnungen.⁴¹

Ziel dieser Dissertation war es, die folgenden Fragen zu beantworten: Erstens, welche individuellen und kontextbezogenen Faktoren korrelieren mit der Wahl der ethnischen Selbstbezeichnung? Und zweitens, stehen diese ethnischen Selbstbezeichnungen in Beziehung zu depressiven Symptomen und delinquentem Verhalten? Hierfür musste zunächst festgestellt werden, welche ethnischen Selbstbezeichnungen die Jugendlichen überhaupt wählen. Insgesamt wurden 968 jugendliche Aussiedler im Alter von zwölf bis 19 Jahren per Fragebogen befragt. Alle waren Immigranten der ersten Generation und somit außerhalb Deutschlands geboren worden. Die meist gewählte ethnische Selbstbezeichnung war „Russisch-Aussiedler“ (24.9%), gefolgt von „Deutscher“ (18.8%). Am seltensten bezeichneten jugendliche Aussiedler sich als „Keiner der drei“ (5.2%) und „Deutsch-Russe“ (5.2%). Die meisten Teilnehmer der Studie wählten eine

⁴¹ Deutscher, Russe, Aussiedler, Deutsch-Russe, Deutsch-Aussiedler, Russisch-Aussiedler, Deutscher-Russe-Aussiedler, und keine der drei.

multiple ethnische Selbstbezeichnung, indem sie zwei oder mehr Kategorien zustimmten (56.6%). Nur 37.5% wählten eine Kategorie und somit eine einfache ethnische Selbstbezeichnung.

Um zur ersten Frage dieser Dissertation zurückzukommen: Welches sind die Faktoren, die die Wahl der ethnischen Selbstbezeichnung beeinflussen? Es wurde erwartet, dass sechs Variablen aus fünf Kontexten relevant seien. Dabei handelte es sich um den Gebrauch der deutschen Sprache (Kontext: Kultur), prozentualen Anteil der deutschen Freunde (Kontext: Peers), Wissen der Eltern über die Freizeitaktivitäten ihrer Kinder (Kontext: Familie), wahrgenommene Diskriminierung (Kontext: Gesellschaft), Schulbindung (Kontext: Schule) und zusätzlich die Aufenthaltsdauer in Deutschland. Diese Variablen wurden aufgeteilt in solche, die mit erfolgreicher Immigration zusammenhängen (Gebrauch der deutschen Sprache, deutsche Freunde, Schulbindung, Aufenthaltsdauer) und solche, die mit missglückter Immigration zusammenhängen (wenig elterliches Wissen, wahrgenommene Diskriminierung). Es konnte gezeigt werden, dass besonders die ersten drei Variablen bei der Bildung der ethnischen Selbstbezeichnung eine Rolle spielen. Jugendliche mit höheren Werten auf den sich auf erfolgreiche Immigration beziehenden Variablen wählten eher ethnische Selbstbezeichnungen, die die deutsche Kategorie beinhalten („Deutscher“, „Deutsch-Russe“ und „Deutsch-Aussiedler“)⁴². Jugendliche, die sich als „Russe“, „Deutsch-Russe“ oder „Keine der drei“ betrachten, berichteten von weniger elterlichem Wissen über ihre Freizeitaktivitäten, welches als Zeichen für missglückte Immigration interpretiert wurde. Interessanterweise fanden sich keine Effekte für wahrgenommene Diskriminierung und nur schwache für Aufenthaltsdauer. Während es schwieriger ist, die fehlende Verbindung zwischen wahrgenommener Diskriminierung und ethnischer Selbstbezeichnung zu interpretieren, sind Schlüsse für die Aufenthaltsdauer einfacher: Nur weil ein jugendlicher Aussiedler länger in Deutschland lebte, hieß das nicht, dass er oder sie sich auch automatisch Deutsch fühlt- es sei denn, zusätzliche Faktoren wie das Schließen von Freundschaften mit Deutschen treten auf.

Der zweite Teil dieser Dissertation behandelte die Frage, ob es überhaupt einen Unterschied macht, welche ethnische Selbstbezeichnung jugendliche Aussiedler wählen. Steht die Wahl der ethnischen Selbstbezeichnung in Zusammenhang mit depressiven Symptomen und delinquentem Verhalten, als zwei Indikatoren für Anpassung? In Bezug auf depressive Symptome ist die Antwort eindeutig „Ja.“ Jugendliche, die sich als „Deutsch“ bezeichneten, berichteten von weniger depressiven Symptomen als andere. Jugendliche, die hingegen keine der Kategorien wählten, hatten die höchsten Werte auf dieser Skala. Es war generell erwartet worden, dass Jugendliche, die die deutsche Kategorie in ihre Selbstbezeichnung aufnehmen, bessere Werte

⁴² Mit der Ausnahme von „Deutscher-Russe-Aussiedler.“

erzielen. Dies konnte jedoch nicht uneingeschränkt bestätigt werden, so dass das Bild für multiple ethnische Selbstbezeichnungen weniger deutlich ausfiel.

Bezüglich des Zusammenhangs zwischen ethnischer Selbstbezeichnung und delinquentem Verhalten ist die Frage ebenfalls mit „Ja“ zu beantworten. Wiederum waren es Jugendliche, die sich als „Deutsche“ bezeichnen, die am wenigsten delinquentes Verhalten zeigten, während diesmal solche, die sich als „Russe“ sahen, die höchsten Werte aufwiesen (gefolgt von denjenigen, die sich keiner der drei Kategorien zuordneten). Es konnte weiter gezeigt werden, dass multiple ethnische Selbstbezeichnungen, welche die deutsche Kategorie beinhalten, mit weniger delinquentem Verhalten einhergingen- mit Ausnahme von „Deutsch-Russe.“ Allgemein kann gesagt werden, dass die Selbstbezeichnung „Deutscher“ mit erfolgreicher Immigration zusammenhing, während die Ablehnung aller drei Kategorien die problematischste Wahl bedeutete. Die deutsche Kategorie in einer multiplen ethnischen Selbstbezeichnung zu beinhalten war ebenfalls von Vorteil, wenn auch nicht so deutlich wie erwartet.

Was kann aus diesen Ergebnissen geschlossen werden? Erstens: Identität ist wichtig, oder besser: Die ethnische Selbstbezeichnung ist wichtig. Wie ein jugendlicher Aussiedler sich selbst bezeichnete, war nicht einfach eine Frage der Zeit, sondern hing hauptsächlich zusammen mit dem Gebrauch der deutschen Sprache, dem prozentualen Anteil der deutschen Freunde, und dem Wissen der Eltern über Freizeitaktivitäten ihres Kindes. Die ethnische Selbstbezeichnung stand weiterhin in Zusammenhang mit depressiven Symptomen und delinquentem Verhalten.

Die Ergebnisse dieser Dissertation belegen die Bedeutung des Zugehörigkeitsgefühls zu Deutschland für jugendliche Aussiedler. Es zeigte sich außerdem, dass Integration leistbar ist. Sprachkurse spielen hier eine bedeutende Rolle; sie sollten weiter angeboten und verbessert werden. Zusätzlich müssen die Möglichkeiten geschaffen werden, die jugendlichen Aussiedlern aktive Teilnahme an der Gesellschaft ermöglichen. Kostengünstige Freizeitangebote wie Jugendclubs, in denen speziell auch Freundschaften zu Deutschen gefördert werden, sind daher empfehlenswert.

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Ehrenwörtliche Erklärung

Ich erkläre hiermit, dass mir die Promotionsordnung der Fakultät für Sozial- und Verhaltenswissenschaften bekannt ist.

Ferner erkläre ich, dass ich die vorliegende Arbeit selbst und ohne unzulässige Hilfe Dritter angefertigt habe. Alle von mir benutzten Hilfsmittel und Quellen sind in der Arbeit angegeben. Insbesondere habe ich hierfür nicht die Hilfe eines Promotionsberaters in Anspruch genommen und Dritte haben weder unmittelbar noch mittelbar geldwerte Leistungen von mir für Arbeiten erhalten, die im Zusammenhang mit dem Inhalt der vorgelegten Dissertation stehen.

Die Arbeit wurde weder im In- noch Ausland in gleicher oder ähnlicher Form einer anderen Prüfungsbehörde vorgelegt. Weder früher noch gegenwärtig habe ich an einer anderen Hochschule eine Dissertation eingereicht.

Ich versichere, dass ich nach bestem Wissen die reine Wahrheit gesagt und nichts verschwiegen habe.

Ort, Datum

Unterschrift

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Research Travels

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Publications

Krahé, B., Abraham, C., Felber, J. & Helbig, M.K. (2005). Perceived discrimination of international visitors to universities in Germany and Britain. <i>British Journal of Psychology</i> , 96, 263-281.
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9. Appendix

9.1 Construction of Ethnic Self-Labeling Groups by Extreme Values

The eight ethnic self-labeling groups were constructed by using the scale-midpoint as a cutoff criterion. One other way is to drop the middle options of the 6-point Likert scale and just include adolescents marking either very low (1 and 2) or very high (5 and 6) on the scale. This results in the following distribution of ethnic self-labels (Figure 9.1):

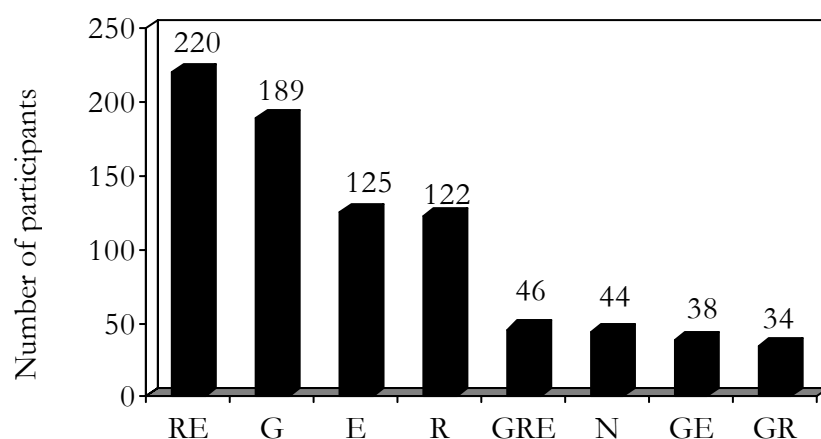


Figure 9.1. Distribution of ethnic self-labels by extreme points ($N = 796$).

The group sizes vary slightly when choosing extreme points instead of the scale midpoint. However, most adolescents again label themselves as either “Russian-ethnic German” (RE) or “German” (G), the label less chosen again was “German-Russian” (GR). The other ethnic self-labels changed order.

9.1.1 Formation of Ethnic Self-Labels

To analyze which variables are relevant for the formation of ethnic self-labels, descriptive analyses of the predictors were conducted first. The results are presented in Table 9.1. When choosing the scale midpoint, the clearest picture emerged for adolescents labeling themselves as “German” (G). They had the highest mean on all variables with the exception of percentage of local German friends and perceived discrimination. When choosing the extreme points to construct the ethnic self-labeling groups, adolescents labeling themselves as “German” (G) showed similar positive results. Interestingly, however, adolescents labeling themselves as “German-Russian” (GR) had even better ratings on almost all variables, meaning they used the German language most often, their parents knew most about their spare-time activities and whereabouts, they had lived in Germany the longest, and reported the highest amount of school commitment compared to adolescent ascribing themselves to other ethnic self-labels. They had,

Table 9.1

Mean Values and Standard Deviations (in Parentheses) of Predictor Variables Across Eight Ethnic Self-Labels. F and p Value of ANOVAs Between Ethnic Self-Labels and Predictor Variables. Group Size

Ethnic Self-Label	Variable						Group size
	1	2	3	4	5	6	
G+	4.71 (.76)	39.43 (250.13)	4.41 (1.07)	8.50 (3.91)	4.66 (1.07)	1.75 (.98)	189 (19.5%)
R	3.37 (.75)	27.47 (18.76)	3.90 (1.11)	6.40 (3.80)	4.01 (1.31)	1.91 (1.07)	122 (12.6%)
E	3.43 (.90)	24.70 (20.21)	3.81 (1.10)	6.61 (3.97)	4.33 (1.27)	1.90 (1.00)	125 (12.9%)
GR+	4.18 (.80)	30.26 (15.83)	4.45 (.82)	9.56 (4.97)	4.84 (.83)	1.66 (1.07)	34 (3.5%)
GE+	3.88 (.84)	32.85 (19.78)	4.42 (.98)	7.48 (4.40)	4.33 (1.24)	2.06 (1.00)	38 (3.9%)
RE	3.32 (.83)	21.64 (14.20)	3.83 (1.08)	6.57 (3.97)	4.16 (1.14)	1.83 (.99)	220 (22.7%)
GRE+	3.64 (.77)	25.04 (11.71)	4.06 (1.16)	6.32 (3.57)	4.24 (1.33)	1.77 (0.99)	46 (4.8%)
N	3.81 (.80)	36.02 (28.85)	3.57 (1.29)	7.81 (4.33)	3.66 (1.18)	1.68 (.77)	44 (4.5%)
<i>F</i>	20.12	12.97	7.38	6.31	6.24	.84	
<i>p</i>	<.001	<.001	<.001	<.001	<.001	.555	
η_p^2	.16	.11	.07	.06	.06	.01	

Note. 1 = German language use, 2 = percentage of local friends, 3 = parental knowledge, 4 = discrimination, 5 = school commitment, 6 = length of residency. Length of residency is given in years. Ethnic self-labels with a + are thought to stand for successful immigration. Abbreviations for ethnic self-labels are as follows: German (G), Russian (R), ethnic German (E), German-Russian (GR), German-ethnic German (GE), Russian-ethnic German (RE), German-Russian-ethnic German (GRE), and None (N).

however, a lower percentage of local German friends than “German” (G) labelers. On the other hand, they perceived less discrimination than all others. Analyses of variance (ANOVAS)

revealed that the differences at group level are significant for all predictor variables with the exception of perceived discrimination (Table 9.1).

To determine how these variables discriminate between the eight distinct ethnic self-labeling groups, and how well they are able to predict group membership, a descriptive discriminant analysis was run. Two significant functions emerged (Wilks' lambda after the second function was derived = .91; $p = .004$). Table 9.2 shows the canonical correlation of each function and the explained variance. The number of the functions was the same as when choosing the scale-midpoint as cutoff criterion, and the three variables German language use, percentage of local German friends, and parental knowledge again correlate highest with the two functions.⁴³

Table 9.2
Standardized Canonical Discrimination Function Coefficients (N = 614)

	Function 1	Function 2
Variables	Standardized discriminant coefficient	Standardized discriminant coefficient
German Language Use	.80	-.17
Parental Knowledge	.37	.67
% German friends	.61	-.62
Length of Residency	.44	-.13
School Commitment	.43	.39
Discrimination	-.11	-.07
Variance	78	12.7
Canonical r	.50	.22

Note. Largest absolute correlation between each variable and any discriminant function are printed in bold.

⁴³ Percentage of German friends correlated highest, though negatively, with the second function when choosing the extreme points, and highest and positively with the first function when choosing the scale midpoint as cut-off criterion.

Figure 9.2 shows the group means for each of the eight self-labels on the two functions. The first function correlated highest with German language use. On this function, adolescents labeling themselves as “German” (G), “German-ethnic German” (GE), and “German-Russian” (GR) scored highest. The second function correlated highest with parental knowledge and percentage of local German friends. Adolescents labeling themselves as “German-Russian” (GR) scored highest on this function.

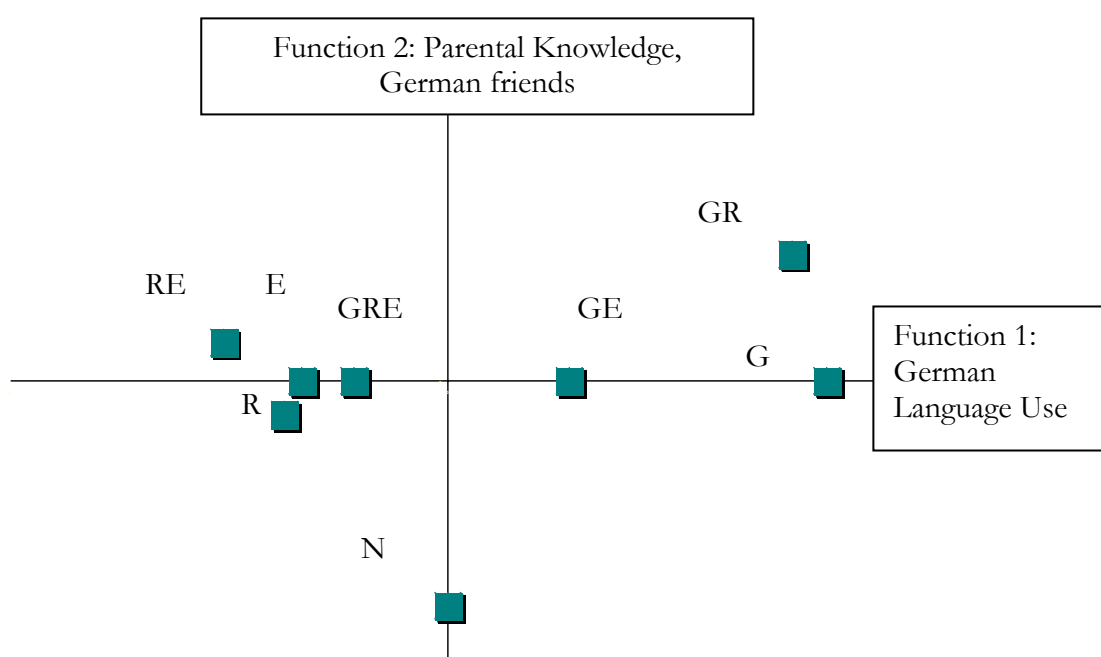


Figure 9.2. Group means for each function.

Taking both functions together, 23% of all cases could be classified correctly. Classification probability (Table 9.3) was highest for those labeling themselves as “German-Russian” (GR; 44.8 %, versus 12.5% a-priori likelihood) and those labeling themselves as “None” (N; 41.2%, versus 12.5% a-priori likelihood). However, it was extremely low for two groups, namely for “German-ethnic German” (GE) and “Russian” (R) labelers with 3.6% and 5.7%, respectively.

Table 9.3
Classification Probability

Ethnic Self-Label	Correct Classification
German (G)	26.9%
Russian (R)	5.7%
Ethnic German (E)	23.2%
German-Russian (GR)	44.8%
German-ethnic German (GE)	3.6%
Russian-ethnic German (RE)	25.2%
German-Russian-ethnic German (GRE)	18.9%
None (N)	41.2%
Average Classification 23.1%	

9.1.2 Ethnic Self-Labels and Adaptation

A multivariate analysis of covariance (MANCOVA) with ethnic self-labels and gender as between-subject factors and age as covariate was conducted to analyze their impact on depressive symptoms and delinquent behavior. As when choosing the scale midpoint as cutoff criterion, there was a main effect of ethnic self-label on depressive symptoms, $F(7, 779) = 2.16, p = .036, \eta_p^2 = .02$, as well as on delinquent behavior, $F(7, 779) = 3.32, p = .002, \eta_p^2 = .03$ when choosing the extreme points to construct the ethnic self-labeling groups. Gender showed a significant main effect for depressive symptoms, $F(1, 779) = 32.44, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .04$, and delinquent behavior, $F(1, 779) = 28.77, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .04$. There was no significant interaction between ethnic self-label and gender for depressive symptoms, $F(7, 779) = 0.20, p = .198, \eta_p^2 = .01$, but for delinquent behavior, $F(7, 779) = 2.04, p = .048, \eta_p^2 = .02$.

Table 9.4 shows the means and standard deviations for each ethnic self-label concerning depressive symptoms and delinquent behavior. Means for delinquent behavior are additionally shown for each gender, as the interaction between ethnic self-label and gender was significant (see above). Analyses regarding delinquent behavior were not run separately for each gender, as this interaction was not significant when choosing the scale midpoint as cutoff-criterion. Analyzing the genders separately does not serve the aim here, which was to compare different ways of grouping ethnic self-labels on the basis of three categories

In sum, the scale midpoint as well as the extreme values as cutoff criterion yielded similar results. This is shown in the next paragraphs, which present the results of the hypotheses and compare them with results obtained when using the scale-midpoint as cutoff-criterion.

Table 9.4

Means and Standard Deviations (in Parentheses) for Depressive Symptoms by Ethnic Self-Label and Gender

		Ethnic Self-Label							
	gender	G	R	E	GR	GE	RE	GRE	N
Depression	Total	1.81 (.95)	1.94 (.85)	2.17 (1.02)	1.91 (.71)	1.91 (.87)	1.94 (.90)	1.97 (1.08)	2.21 (1.07)
Delinquency	♀	1.24 (.28)	1.42 (.43)	1.31 (.3)	1.36 (.36)	1.23 (.13)	1.24 (.31)	1.25 (.29)	1.22 (.25)
	♂	1.11 (.13)	1.19 (.2)	1.23 (.26)	1.09 (.16)	1.19 (.21)	1.21 (.25)	1.17 (.15)	1.29 (.26)
	Total	1.16 (.21)	1.3 (.35)	1.27 (.28)	1.19 (.28)	1.21 (.18)	1.27 (.29)	1.27 (.25)	1.26 (.26)

German language use. The order of ethnic self-labels was expected as follows: $G > GR, GE, GRE, N > R, E, RE$ (Hypothesis 1). This hypothesis was confirmed. A UNIANOVA contrast analysis with contrast weights of (2 1 1 1 1 -2 -2 -2) showed the expected differences between the ethnic self-labeling groups in German language use, $F(1, 810) = 96.54, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .11$. The hypothesis was also confirmed when choosing the scale-midpoint as cutoff-criterion.

German friends. The order of ethnic self-labels was expected as follows: $G > GR, GE, GRE, N > R, E, RE$ (Hypothesis 2). This hypothesis was confirmed. A UNIANOVA contrast analysis with contrast weights of (2 1 1 1 1 -2 -2 -2) showed the expected differences between the ethnic self-labeling groups in local German friends: $F(1, 810) = 40.26, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .05$. The hypothesis was also confirmed when choosing the scale-midpoint as cutoff-criterion.

School commitment. The order of ethnic self-labels was expected as follows: $G, GR, GE, GRE > R, E, RE > N$ (Hypothesis 3). This hypothesis was confirmed. A UNIANOVA contrast analysis with contrast weights of (2 2 2 2 -1 -1 -1 -5) showed the expected differences between the ethnic self-labeling groups in school commitment, $F(1, 810) = 30.50, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .04$. The hypothesis was also confirmed when choosing the scale-midpoint as cutoff-criterion.

Length of residency. The order of ethnic self-labels was expected as follows: G > GR, GE, GRE, N > R, E, RE (Hypothesis 4). This hypothesis was confirmed. A UNIANOVA contrast analysis with contrast weights of (2 1 1 1 1 -2 -2 -2) showed the expected differences between the ethnic self-labeling groups in length of residency, $F(1, 722) = 5.03, p = .025, \eta_p^2 = .01$. The hypothesis was not confirmed when choosing the scale-midpoint as cutoff-criterion.

Parental knowledge. The order of ethnic self-labels was expected as follows: G, R, GR, GE, GRE > E, RE > N (Hypothesis 5). This hypothesis was confirmed. A UNIANOVA contrast analysis with contrast weights of (1 1 1 1 1 -1 -1 -3) showed the expected differences between the expected ethnic self-labeling groups in parental knowledge, $F(1, 810) = 13.46, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .02$. The hypothesis was also confirmed when choosing the scale-midpoint as cutoff-criterion.

Depressive symptoms. The order of ethnic self-labels was expected as follows: R > E, RE, N > G, GR, GE, GRE (Hypothesis 7). This hypothesis was not confirmed. A UNIANOVA contrast analysis with contrast weights of (5 1 1 1 -2 -2 -2 -2) did not show the expected differences between the ethnic self-labeling groups in depressive symptoms, $F(1, 798) = 1.30, p = .255, \eta_p^2 = .00$. As a MANCOVA (reported above) revealed a main effect for ethnic self-labels and depressive symptoms, Bonferonni post-hoc tests were run and identified one significant difference: “German” labelers reported significantly less depressive symptoms than “Ethnic German” labelers ($p = .026$). The hypothesis was also not confirmed when choosing the scale-midpoint as cutoff-criterion.

Delinquent behavior. The order of ethnic self-labels was expected as follows: R > E, RE, N > G, GR, GE, GRE (Hypothesis 8). This hypothesis was confirmed. A UNIANOVA contrast analysis with contrast weights of (5 1 1 1 -2 -2 -2 -2) showed the expected differences between the ethnic self-labeling groups in delinquent behavior, $F(1, 795) = 8.83, p = .003, \eta_p^2 = .01$. The hypothesis was also confirmed when choosing the scale-midpoint as cutoff-criterion.

9.2 Construction of Ethnic Self-Labeling Groups by Cluster Analysis

The eight ethnic self-labeling groups were constructed by using the scale-midpoint as a cutoff criterion. One other way is to use cluster analysis. This results in the following five ethnic self-labels (Figure 9.3):

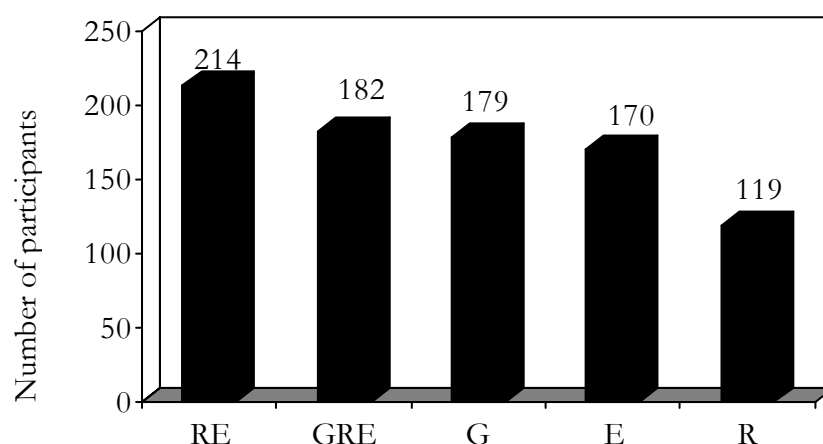


Figure 9.3. Distribution of ethnic self-labels by cluster analysis ($N = 864$).

When choosing the cluster analysis instead of the scale midpoint, the following ethnic self-labels are lost: “German-Russian” (GR), “German-ethnic German” (GE), and “None” (N). Most adolescents again label themselves as either “Russian-ethnic German” (RE).

9.2.1 Formation of Ethnic Self-Labels

To analyze which variables are relevant for the formation of ethnic self-labels, descriptive analyses of the predictors were conducted first. The results are presented in Table 9.5. When choosing the scale midpoint (or, as a matter of fact, the extreme values), the clearest picture emerged for adolescents labeling themselves as “German.” They had the most positive values on almost all variables (German language use, parental knowledge, school commitment, perceived discrimination). They had also resided in Germany the longest. When choosing cluster analysis to construct the ethnic self-labeling groups, the same picture showed for adolescents labeling themselves as “German.” Analyses of variance (ANOVAS) revealed that the differences at group level were significant for all predictor variables with the exception of perceived discrimination. This, again, was the same as when selecting the scale midpoint as cutoff criterion.

Table 9.5

Mean Values and Standard Deviations (in Parentheses) of Predictor Variables Across Eight Ethnic Self-Labels. F and p Value of ANOVAs Between Ethnic Self-Labels and Predictor Variables. Group Size

Ethnic Self-Label	Variable						Group size
	1	2	3	4	5	6	
G+	4.20 (.77)	40.91 (25.74)	4.31 (1.09)	8.74 (3.814)	4.59 (1.06)	1.66 (.96)	214 (22.1%)
R	3.50 (.83)	29.25 (17.61)	3.85 (1.18)	6.95 (3.54)	3.86 (1.20)	1.95 (1.11)	170 (17.6%)
E	3.77 (.79)	27.69 (18.39)	4.14 (1.03)	7.63 (4.54)	4.37 (1.16)	1.80 (.95)	182 (18.8%)
RE	3.34 (.87)	21.65 (16.25)	3.72 (1.105)	6.73 (4.07)	4.10 (1.17)	1.87 (1.00)	179 (18.5%)
GRE+	3.68 (.71)	28.96 (16.86)	4.08 (1.02)	6.99 (3.65)	4.35 (1.19)	1.79 (1.01)	119 (12.3%)
<i>F</i>	27.14	22.50	7.98	6.76	7.90	1.55	
<i>p</i>	<.001	<.001	<.001	<.001	<.001	.186	
η_p^2	.12	.10	.04	.03	.04	.01	

Note. 1 = German language use, 2 = percentage of local friends, 3 = parental knowledge, 4 = discrimination, 5 = school commitment, 6 = length of residency. Length of residency is given in years. Ethnic self-labels with a + are thought to stand for successful immigration. Abbreviations for ethnic self-labels are as follows: German (G), Russian (R), ethnic German (E), Russian-ethnic German (RE), and German-Russian-ethnic German (GRE).

To determine how these variables discriminate between the five distinct ethnic self-labeling groups, and how well they are able to predict group membership, a descriptive discriminant analysis was run. Two significant functions emerged (Wilks' lambda after the second function was derived = .96; $p = .012$). Table 9.6 shows the canonical correlations of each function and the explained variance. The number of the functions was the same as when choosing the scale-midpoint as cutoff criterion, and the three variables German language use, percentage of German friends, and parental knowledge again correlated highest with the two functions. However, parental knowledge loaded negatively (positively when choosing the scale midpoint as cutoff criterion) with the second function.

Table 9.6

Standardized Canonical Discrimination Function Coefficients (N = 737)

Variables	Function 1	Function 2
	Standardized discriminant coefficient	Standardized discriminant coefficient
German Language Use	.79	-.1
% German friends	.68	.64
Parental Knowledge	.37	-.62
Discrimination	-.15	.3
Length of Residency	.37	-.06
School Cohesion	.34	-.15
Variance	85.7%	11.4%
Canonical <i>r</i>	.47	.19

Figure 9.4 shows the group means for each of the eight self-labels on the two functions. The first function correlated highest with German language use and the percentage of local German friends. On this function, the adolescents labeling themselves as “German” (G) scored highest. Adolescents labeling themselves as “Ethnic German” (E) also score above average. The second function correlated highest with parental knowledge. Adolescents labeling themselves as “Russian” (R) scored highest on this function; adolescents labeling themselves as “Ethnic German” (E) lowest.

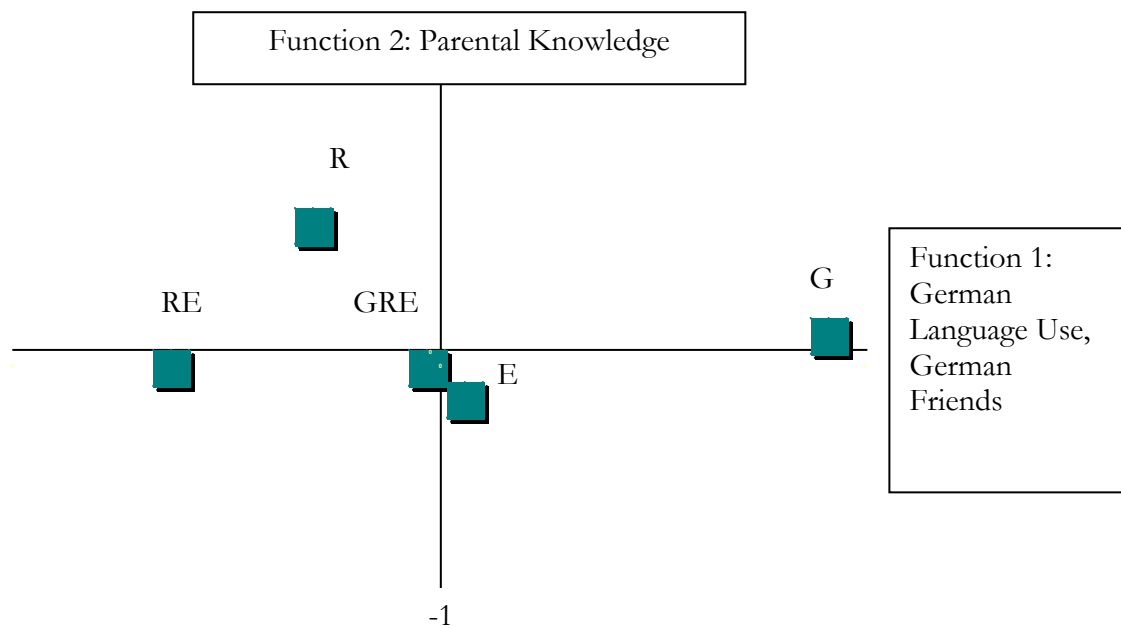


Figure 9.4. Group means for each function.

Taking both functions together, 36.4% of all cases could be classified correctly. Classification probability (Table 9.7) was highest for those labeling themselves as “German” (G; 60.4 %, versus a 20% a-priori likelihood) and those labeling themselves as “Russian-ethnic German” (RE; 50.3%, versus a 20% a-priori likelihood). However, it is extremely low for two groups, namely for “German-Russian-ethnic German” (GRE) and “Russian” (R) with 16.3% and 22%, respectively.

Table 9.7
Classification Probability

Ethnic Self-Label	Correct Classification
German (G)	60.4%
Russian (R)	31.4%
Ethnic German (E)	22%
Russian-ethnic German (RE)	50.3%
German-Russian-ethnic German (GRE)	16.3%
Average Classification 36.4%	

9.2.2 Ethnic Self-Labels and Adaptation

A multivariate analysis of covariance (MANCOVA) with ethnic self-labels and gender as between-subject factors and age as covariate was conducted to analyze their impact on depressive symptoms and delinquent behavior. Contrary to when choosing the scale midpoint as cutoff criterion, there was no main effect of ethnic self-label on depressive symptoms, $F(4, 834) = 2.04$, $p = .087$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$. In line with results when choosing the scale midpoint, there was a main effect of ethnic self-label on delinquent behavior, $F(7, 834) = 8.05$, $p > .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$. Gender showed a significant main effect for depressive symptoms, $F(1, 834) = 55.78$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .06$, and delinquent behavior, $F(1, 834) = 65.63$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .07$. There was a significant interaction between ethnic self-label and gender for depressive symptoms, $F(4, 834) = 3.62$, $p = .006$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$, but not for delinquent behavior, $F(4, 834) = .96$, $p = .428$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$.

Table 9.8

Means and Standard Deviations (in Parentheses) for Depressive Symptoms and Delinquent Behavior by Ethnic Self-Label and Gender

		Ethnic Self-Label				
	gender	G	R	E	RE	GRE
Depression	♀	1.93 (.86)	2.16 (.98)	2.34 (1.02)	2.29 (.90)	2.45 (1.04)
	♂	1.74 (.96)	1.83 (.78)	1.87 (.84)	1.66 (.85)	1.58 (.75)
	Total	1.84(.91)	2 (.9)	2.15 (.98)	2 (.93)	2.03 (1.01)
Delinquency	Total	1.17 (.2)	1.32 (.34)	1.23 (.29)	1.29 (.31)	1.24 (.23)

Table 9.8 shows the means and standard deviations for each ethnic self-label concerning depressive symptoms and delinquent behavior. Means for depressive symptoms are additionally shown for each gender, as the interaction between ethnic self-label and gender was significant (see above). Analyses regarding depressive symptoms were not run separately for each gender, as this interaction was not significant when choosing the scale midpoint as cutoff-criterion. Analyzing the genders separately does not serve the aim here, which was to compare different ways of grouping ethnic self-labels on the basis of three categories

As there were no specific hypotheses for five ethnic self-labeling groups concerning depressive symptoms and delinquent behavior, post-hoc analyses were run. The significant ones are depicted in Table 9.9, so that these are not reported in the text.

Table 9.9

Differences Between Ethnic Self-Labels and Immigration and Outcome Variables

	Ethnic Self-Labels				
	G	R	E	RE	GRE
German	>R***	<G***	<G***	<G***	<G***
Language Use	>E***		>RE***	<E***	>RE**
	>RE**			<GRE**	
	>GRE***				
% German	>R***	>R***	<G***	<G***	<G***
Friends	>E***	>E***		<R**	>RE*
	>RE**	>RE**		<GRE*	
	>GRE***	>GRE***			
Parental	>R***	<G***	>R**	<G***	>R**
Knowledge	>RE***	<E**			
		<GRE**			
School	>R**	<G**	>RE**	<G***	>RE**
Commitment	>RE***			<E**	
				<GRE**	
Length of	>R**	<G**		<G***	<G**
Residency	>RE***				
	>GRE**				
Delinquent	<R***	>G***		>G***	
Behavior	<RE***				

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

9.3 Construction of Ethnic Self-Labeling Groups (Summary)

Ethnic self-labeling groups can be constructed in at least four different ways. The scale midpoint, the median split, or extreme values can be used as cutoff criteria; further, cluster analysis can be applied. For this dissertation, the scale midpoint was used for the construction of the groups. However, analyses were run and described in sections 9.1 and 9.2 to test whether building the groups in different manners yields varying results that require further investigation. As stated in section 4.3.1, choosing the median split was not regarded as a sensible option, so that it is not being dealt with here.

Discriminant analyses showed that the same three variables, correlating highest with two significant functions, were relevant in the formation of ethnic self-labels, independent on how these were constructed. German language use was the most important, followed by either percentage of local German friends or parental knowledge concerning the child's spare-time activities and whereabouts. Adolescents including the German category in their label always scored highest on the first function, which correlated highest with German language use (and local German friends). One exception in all cases were multiple identifiers labeling themselves as "German-Russian-ethnic German" (GRE), who scored either averagely (scale midpoint, cluster analysis) or slightly negatively (extreme values) on this function. Adolescents labeling themselves as "Russian" (R) or "Russian-ethnic German" (RE) always scored lowest on this first function. Adolescents labeling themselves as "Ethnic German" (E) scored low on the first function when applying the scale midpoint or extreme values, but moved towards the positive end when using cluster analysis. Their ratings remained similar on the second function, which correlated highest with parental knowledge (and local German friends in case of extreme values). "None" (N) labelers (not existent when applying cluster analysis) always scored average on the first function (language/ friends), and lowest on the second function (parental knowledge), in comparison with the other ethnic self-labels.

Multivariate analysis of covariance (MANCOVA) with ethnic self-labels and gender as between-subject factors and age as covariate were conducted to analyze their impact on depressive symptoms and delinquent behavior. There was a significant main effect of ethnic self-label on depressive symptoms when choosing the scale midpoint and extreme values, but not when applying cluster analysis in the construction of ethnic self-labels. However, there was always a main effect on delinquency, independent on how the ethnic self-labeling groups were constructed. Gender showed a significant main effect for depressive symptoms and delinquent behavior in all cases. Further, there was no significant interaction between ethnic self-label and gender for depressive symptoms when choosing the scale midpoint or extreme values, but when using cluster analysis. The interaction between ethnic self-label and gender was significant for

delinquent behavior when choosing the scale midpoint and extreme values, but not cluster analysis.

In sum, it can be in all cases concluded that adolescents labeling themselves as “German” or “German-Russian” (when choosing scale-midpoint or extreme values) show the most signs of a successful immigration, meaning they used the German language most often, had the highest percentage of German friends, reported the most school commitment and most parental knowledge. Adolescents labeling themselves as “Russian” or “Russian-ethnic German,” on the other hand, reported the most delinquent behavior. When existent, “None” labelers had the highest amount of depressive symptoms. “Russian,” “Russian-ethnic German,” and “None” labelers show the most signs for a less successful immigration. These results were stable across different methods of constructing the ethnic self-labeling groups.

9.4 Mean Age by Ethnic Self-Label

Theoretical approaches to ethnic identity suggest a progression of identity starting in (early) adolescence with a diffused or naïve state of awareness, leading perhaps to an exploration in the meaning of ethnic identity (Pegg & Plybon, 2005; see section 6.4.1). The mean ages across all ethnic self-labeling groups are shown in Figure 9.5.

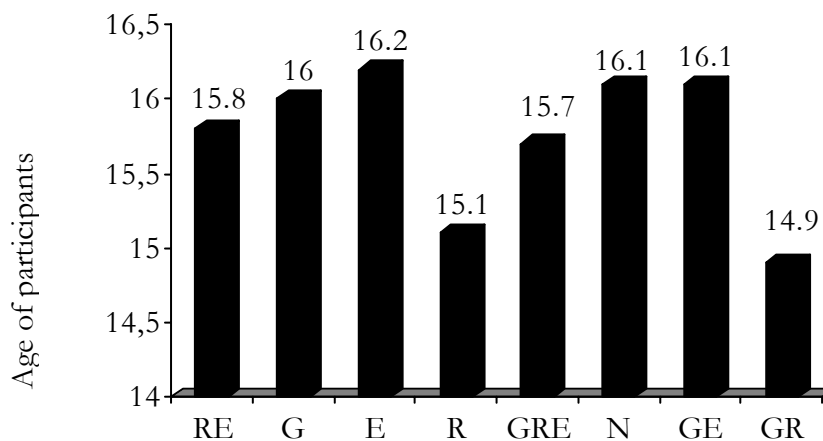


Figure 9.5. Mean age by ethnic self-label (in years).

An univariate analysis of variance (UNIANOVA) with age as the dependent, and ethnic self-label as the independent variable revealed significant differences between the groups: $F(7,951) = 5.13, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .04$. Figure 9.4 shows the mean age of all participants by ethnic self-label. Table 9.10 depicts significant age differences between ethnic self-labeling groups.

Table 9.10

Age Differences Between Ethnic Self-Labels

Ethnic Self-Label	Ethnic Self-Label
German (G)	>R**, GR*
Russian (R)	<G**, E**, GE**, RE*, N*
Ethnic German (E)	>R**, GR**
German-Russian (GR)	<E**, GE*, N*
German-ethnic German (GE)	>R**, GR*
Russian-ethnic German (RE)	>R*
German-ethnic German-Russian (GRE)	
None (N)	>GR*

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

9.5 Additional Scales

Family Cohesion. Family cohesion was measured using parts of a scale by Schneewind (1988). The introductory question was “Please rate your personal experiences. To what extent would it be true to say...” Three items were given, all with Likert-type scale response options ranging from 1 (not true) to 6 (true). The items were “My family does many things together,” “I can talk to my parents about almost anything”, and “I get along well with my parents.” The reliability of the scale was $\alpha = .72$ and thus satisfactory.

Social Support. Social support was measured using five items. The introductory statement was “How much do you agree with the following statements?” Likert-type scale response options ranged from 1 (do not agree) to 6 (agree). The items were “There are people that really like me,” “Whenever I am sad, there are people that cheer me up,” “I know people I can always count on,” “Whenever I have worries, there is someone to help me,” and “When everything gets too much, there are others to help me.” The reliability of the scale was $\alpha = .90$ and thus very high.

9.6 Interviews

It has been argued for the increasing use of qualitative methods in acculturation research to understand motivations and emic perspectives of the minority as well as the majority groups (e.g., Rudmin, 2003). Eight semi-structured interviews were conducted; six of which with participants of the original study. The aim was to explore personal experiences and perceptions of the situation as an ethnic German immigrant in Germany. As Smith and Osborn (2003) state: “The participants are trying to make sense of their world; the researcher is trying to make sense of the participants trying to make sense of their world” (p. 51).

9.6.1 Participants

Eight adolescents age 16 to 20 ($M = 17$) participated in the interview study. Three were female, five were male. All but one were first generation immigrants, having lived in Germany between five and twelve years ($M = 9.3$ years). For six of the participants, data from the questionnaire survey were available. The eight adolescents had been recruited through mouth-to-mouth propaganda. Interestingly, this led to three interviews with adolescents from former Soviet Union states that did not have the ethnic German status. As the adolescents themselves often stated, the legal status is of no importance among them: “A Russian is a Russian” (Viktor, see interview 9.6.4.7).

9.6.2 Procedure

Participants were recruited by telephone from the original sample and through mouth-to-mouth advertisement. All lived and were interviewed in Jena, Thuringia, from August to October, 2004. Interviews were conducted, taped, and transcribed by the first author (indicated as “I” for “interviewer”). With one exception, interviews were conducted in the private homes of the adolescents (one adolescent wished to meet in the town center). Written consent was obtained from all participants and additionally from parents if adolescents were younger than 16 years of age. Confidentiality was assured and information concerning the intent of the interview was given orally, as well as in written form. The written form included address and telephone number of the interviewer and the information that participants at any time had the right to withdraw their participation. No one did. The interview took between 40 minutes and one and a half hours and was conducted in German. Participants were reimbursed with 15 EUR.

9.6.3 Interview Schedule

As there was a specific area of interest for the investigator, a semi-structured interview form was applied. First, the broad range of issues was chosen: Identification, friendships, and acculturation orientations. These were picked as it was assumed they specify more closely what it means to be ethnic German and thus reveal more about the identity of the adolescents. Second, the topics were placed in the most appropriate sequence, meaning a logical order in which to proceed with the conversation, leaving the most sensitive topics to the end. Questions were constructed with the aim to encourage the adolescent to speak about the topic with as little prompting from the interviewer as possible. As suggested by Smith (2003), questions were phrased in a neutral rather than value-laden way, jargon was avoided, and the questions left open-ended. The interview schedule was discussed with other investigators from the research team and adapted accordingly before the first interview was conducted.

Adolescents were told the interview consisted of two parts, starting with questions of their origin and moving on to the topic of friendships. After demographic questions concerning their personal code from the original study, date of birth, and gender, adolescents were told: “I would now like to know where you were born,” followed by the warm-up questions concerning place of birth and time of immigration to Germany and how they liked living in Germany. Then, they were asked about their identity, moving through all three theoretical components of ethnic identity as suggested by Phinney (2003). When this part was finished, the adolescent was told “I now have some more questions concerning friendships.” These included acculturation orientations and were meant as additional information concerning the attitude the participant held towards ethnic and local Germans. A last question gave the adolescent the chance to state what seems important to him or her. During the interviews, it often seemed necessary to diverge from the original script, as some adolescents seemed reluctant to answer the questions or needed more prompting. The interview schedule is shown in Table 9.11.

Table 9.11
Interview Schedule

Question	Theoretical Background
What is „typical“ for an ethnic German?	Level of ethnic identity development (3 rd component ethnic identity)
Would you say: „I am an ethnic German“?	Ethnic Label (1 st component ethnic identity)
If no, why not?	
If yes: What does that mean for you? How important is it to you?	Feeling about group membership (2 nd component ethnic identity)
Can one distinguish you as an ethnic German, and if, how?	
What is „typical“ for a local German?	Level of ethnic identity development (3 rd component ethnic identity)
Would you say: „I am a local German“?	Ethnic Label (1 st component ethnic identity)
If no, why not?	
If yes: What does that mean for you?	Feeling about group membership (2 nd component ethnic identity)
If agreement to ethnic German and local German:	Ethnic Label (1 st component ethnic identity)
What are you more, ethnic German or local German?	
What do you think of being ____ ?	Feeling about group membership (2 nd component ethnic identity)
If you could chose, what would you rather be and why?	Feeling about group membership (2 nd component ethnic identity)

Table 9.11 (continued)

Interview Schedule

If we would ask you again next winter, how do you think you would see yourself- more ethnic German, more local German, less ethnic German, or less local German, the same? Is that good?	Level of ethnic identity development (3 rd component ethnic identity)
What would have to happen that would make you feel more local German/ ethnic German?	Level of ethnic identity development (3 rd component ethnic identity)
What did you know about local Germans before coming to Germany, for example concerning their attitudes towards ethnic Germans?	Anticipated Acculturation Orientations
What has changed in your opinion towards local Germans ever since you moved here?	Anticipated Acculturation Orientations
What do you do with your friends when you meet?	Questions concerning friendships
Where do you know your friends from?	
Is your best friend local or ethnic German?	
Do you have friends that are ethnic Germans/ local Germans? (in case: except for best friend)	
With whom do you enjoy activities more, ethnic or local Germans? Why (not)?	
Can you imagine having ethnic German/ local German friends?	
Which friends are more important to you? Why (not)?	
Is there anything else you think important to tell, anything that seems missing? End question	

9.6.4 Interviews

9.6.4.1 Linda, 20 Jahre: „Ich weiß, woher ich komme, also, da bin ich manchmal stolz drauf“

Interview am 24.08.2004 mit Linda, 20 Jahre. Linda wohnt mit ihrem Lebensgefährten in einer drei-Zimmer Wohnung; ihre Eltern und ihre Großeltern wohnen wenige Häuser weiter. Nach Beendigung des Interviews zeigt Linda noch Fotoalben von der Zeit direkt nach der Immigration (im Alter von 13) und aktuelle Bilder.

I: Ich würde gerne wissen wollen, wo Sie geboren sind?

Linda: In Kasachstan, das war früher die Hauptstadt von Kasachstan, Astana, da bin ich geboren.

I: Und seit wann sind Sie in Deutschland?

Linda: Seit 1996.

I: 1996. Da waren Sie dann wie alt?

Linda: 13.

I: Wollten Sie kommen?

Linda: Ja. Wollte ich.

I: Wurden Sie gefragt von Ihren Eltern oder Ihrer Familie, ob Sie...

Linda: Ja, die haben mich gefragt ob ich da zustimme oder nicht, da habe ich gesagt ja klar will ich was Neues sehen, wieso nicht, das ist interessant. Und die Hauptsache, dass wir hierher gekommen sind, ist, dass meine Grosseltern, die wollten zu ihren sozusagen Wurzeln zurückkommen.

I: Wo kamen Ihre Grosseltern her?

Linda: Das weiß ich ganz genau nicht weil, damit habe ich mich jetzt nicht so beschäftigt, weil ich wusste, dass hier Verwandte aus Deutschland kommen.

I: Und mit wem sind sie nach Deutschland gekommen?

Linda: Mit meinen Eltern und mit meinen Großeltern und noch mit meinem kleinen Bruder, aber der ist leider jetzt nicht bei uns.

I: Und sind Sie alle nach Jena gekommen gleich?

Linda: Ja.

I: Und seit Ihrem 13 Lebensjahr in Jena?

Linda: Ja, bin ich hier. Gefällt mir auch hier.

I: Ja?

Linda: Nu. Ich hab hier Ausbildungsstelle bekommen.

I: Als was?

Linda: Als Einzelhandelskauffrau. An einer Tankstelle.

I: Das heißt deswegen haben Sie dienstags Zeit?

Linda: Nicht immer, aber...

I: Aber manchmal?

Linda: Manchmal.

I: Weil Sie Schichtdienst haben?

Linda: Ja

I: Und seit wann machen Sie die Ausbildung?

Linda: Seit August. Das macht Spaß. Aber die Schule ist ein bisschen schwer. Das war immer so, dass die Schule irgendwie [lacht] hinterherhinkt.

I: Weil Sie keine Lust haben, oder?

Linda: Nee ich, ich verstehe manchmal nicht. Deutsch verstehe ich ja gut, aber die Themen manchmal... Das ist mir irgendwie... nicht, nicht... das fällt mir schwer. Besonders die Fremdsprachen und so.

I: Welche Fremdsprachen?

Linda: Englisch.

I: Englisch?

Linda: Weil, ich kam nach Deutschland und wurde ich zurück in die fünfte [Klasse] gesetzt. Da musste ich Deutsch und Englisch lernen. Da habe ich mich mehr auf Deutsch konzentriert als auf Englisch.

I: Das heißt, Sie konnten nicht richtig Deutsch, als Sie hierher kamen?

Linda: Würde ich nicht sagen. Ich hab ja manches verstanden, weil meine Großeltern, meine Mutti, die konnten so Hochdeutsch. Meine Mutti war auch Deutschlehrerin. Ja, ich habe manche Leute verstanden, nur sprechen konnte ich... so manche Wörter, es fiel mir eigentlich leicht, hier Deutsch zu lernen.

I: Was würden Sie sagen, wie lange haben Sie gebraucht, um Deutsch zu lernen?

Linda: Huch [lacht].

I: Oder, oder so, dass Sie in der Schule gut mitkamen?

Linda: So innerhalb eineinhalb Jahren, glaube ich, da habe ich schon alles verstanden. Ja, und da hatte ich auch sofort deutsche Freunde gehabt, und da fiel mir dann ganz leicht alles.

I: Auf die Freunde wollte ich später noch mal zu sprechen kommen und Sie fragen. Jetzt: Sie gelten hier als Aussiedlerin?

Linda: Hmm [zustimmend].

I: Würden Sie auch sagen: Ich bin Aussiedler?

Linda: Manchmal ja, manchmal nicht [lacht].

I: Wovon ist das abhängig?

Linda: Naja, das hat mit Menschen zu tun, weil manche stempeln dich sozusagen als Ausländerin, weil sie wissen nicht, dass ich Aussiedler bin. Deswegen will ich mich manchmal verstecken, dass ich so Deutsche bin, aber manchmal ist es mir egal. Ich weiß, woher ich komme, also, da bin ich manchmal stolz drauf [lacht].

I: Worauf jetzt, wo kommen Sie her, worauf sind Sie stolz?

Linda: Naja, also, dass ich aus Kasachstan komme, dass ich da sozusagen zwei Länder gesehen habe und zwei Sprachen jetzt kann, also, sozusagen, gut.

I: Und wenn Sie sagen, Sie sind Aussiedler- wie würden Sie einen typischen Aussiedler denn beschreiben? Was wäre typisch für einen Aussiedler?

Linda: [Überlegt]. Meistens die Klamotten, würde ich sagen.

I: Die Klamotten?

Linda: Die Klamotten.

I: Bei Jungs und Mädchen?

Linda: Genau. Da ist total der Unterschied.

I: Zu den Deutschen?

Linda: Ja, genau [lacht].

I: Können Sie das beschreiben?

Linda: Naja, so Mädels, die achten mehr auf sich weil die Schminke, die unterscheidet sich total, so Lippen manchmal so, ja, rot oder in solchen grellen Farben. Die sind immer gepflegt und Stöckelschuhe, ist typisch für uns, glaube ich [lacht]. Und die Deutschen laufen irgendwie mehr mit Turnschuhen rum und, ja, es gibt ja auch viele Gepflegte, würde ich sagen, aber bei uns ist das irgendwie, das sticht heraus.

I: Also da würden Sie sagen, das unterscheidet sie.

Linda: Hmm [zustimmend], das unterscheidet sich.

I: Was wäre denn typisch für einen Deutschen dann?

Linda:[Überlegt]. Turnschuhe. Bei Mädels und Jungs. Bei Jungs ist es die Skaterhosen [lacht] und bei Mädels dieses, na ja, das die so hier enger sind, so hier irgendwie, und dann hier so weiter.

I: Die Hosen?

Linda: Genau. Manchmal muss da unbedingt von New Yorker stehen, so Fishbone oder so, das mögen die manchmal überhaupt nicht.

I: Also Sie würden sagen, richtig an den Klamotten können Sie das schon unterscheiden?

Linda: Ja.

I: Das ist ja spannend

Linda: Manchmal fahr ich zur Arbeit, und da muss ich irgendwie nicht richtig zuhören, da kann ich schon sagen, dass sind Deutsche, dass sind Aussiedler, sozusagen.

I: Und gilt das auch für ausländische Russen, oder gilt das nur für die Aussiedler? Also, könnte man die auch unterscheiden?

Linda: Das kann ich nicht so sagen. Weil ich kenne viele vom Sehen her, aber so näher dass ich mit denen so [??]

I: Würden Sie auch sagen, dass Sie Deutsche sind?

Linda: [Überlegt]. Kann ich nicht so genau sagen [lacht].

I: Also dass Sie Aussiedler sind sagen Sie: ja.

Linda: Ja.

I: Und, ähm, dass Sie Deutsche sind?

Linda: [Überlegt]. Jetzt fühle ich mich so weil ich bin seit, ja, 96, fast acht Jahren hier, da würde ich schon manchmal sagen, dass ich eine Deutsche bin weil, früher hatte ich noch so russische Gedanken, Deutsch gesprochen. Jetzt geht das nicht, da muss ich Deutsch nachdenken und dann Deutsch reden [lacht].

I: Haben Sie den deutsche Pass?

Linda: Ja.

I: Also Sie haben die deutsche Staatsbürgerschaft.

Linda: Ja, klar.

I: Und wenn jetzt jemand Sie fragen würde: Sind Sie Russin? Würden Sie dann sagen „ja,“ oder würden Sie da sagen „ich komme aus Kasachstan“?

Linda: Ja, ich würde sagen ich komme aus Kasachstan. Das ist sozusagen auch nicht Russland, da spricht man eine ganz andere Sprache. Und da würde ich dann sagen, dass ich eine Deutsche bin, weil ich den deutschen Pass habe. Und die acht Jahre schließlich, da habe ich mich so hineingelebt, in die deutsche Kultur und so.

I: Also wenn wir jetzt so eine Prozentschiene nehmen würden, dann würden Sie sagen, Sie sind wie viel Prozent Aussiedler?

Linda: Ich würde immer sagen, Hälfte-Hälfte.

I: Hälfte-Hälfte?

Linda: [lacht] genau.

I: Doch so viel?

L: Nu.

I: Und ist das gut so? Fühlen Sie sich wohl damit?

Linda: Ja.

I: Und Sie haben vorhin auch gesagt, Sie sind stolz darauf.

Linda: Ja, bin ich eigentlich. Ich meine, ich kann zwei Sprachen, also, kann ich mich hier so leben und dann dort in Kasachstan, also, ist für mich kein Problem.

I: Und wenn Sie es sich aussuchen könnten, würden Sie dann sagen, so soll's auch bleiben? Oder ich würde gern doch mich ein bisschen mehr auf meine Wurzeln besinnen in Kasachstan oder ich hab das Ziel, dass ich irgendwann mal überhaupt nicht mehr auffalle als Aussiedlerin und nur noch Deutsche bin- auch Turnschuhe trage?

Linda: [lacht] Das sage ich oft. Eigentlich würde ich nicht so sagen, dass gefällt mir jetzt hier, auch dort. Ich meine, ich hab da kein Problem, dass ich auffalle oder so.

I: Also wenn ich jetzt, wenn ich jetzt beispielsweise nach einem Jahr noch mal herkommen würde, glauben Sie, Sie würden dasselbe sagen?

Linda: Das weiß ich, ehrlich gesagt, nicht [lacht].

I: Und wenn ich vor drei Jahren gekommen wäre, da waren Sie 17, was hätten Sie da gesagt?

Linda: Dann würde ich sagen, dass ich mehr Deutsche bin, weil ich hatte da auch nur deutsche Freunde, da habe ich mich mit denen auch gut verstanden, weil wir zusammen in der selben Klasse waren und so. Und seit vor einem Jahr ist das auseinander gegangen, habe ich nicht mehr so den Kontakt mehr, denn manche sind dort, manche, die sind in Saalfeld und oder da irgendwo anders und die halten zwar Kontakt aber das ist nicht mehr so jeden Tag sehen.

I: Das heißt Sie würden sagen, vor ein paar Jahren haben Sie sich noch ein Stück mehr als Deutsche gefühlt als jetzt?

Linda: Genau.

I: Und das liegt an den Freunden?

Linda: Genau, nu.

I: Und das ist aber nicht absichtlich passiert, dass Sie...

Linda: Nee, das ist nicht mit Absicht passiert. Ich meine, ich verstehe mich ja auch mit richtigen Deutschen, mit Aussiedlern gut.

I: Aber Sie wissen dann schon, dass ist ein richtiger Deutscher...

Linda: Ja, nu, ja klar. Die kommen auch mit mir klar. Die haben mich immer in der Schule verbessert, wenn ich was Falsches gesagt hab. Die haben gelächelt, die haben mich verbessert, aber das fand ich gut. Dass die mich nicht so ausgelacht haben.

I: War das von Anfang an so?

Linda: Ja, das war von Anfang an so. Ich hab nie Probleme irgendwie mich in die Klasse einzuleben.

I: Auch mit 13 Jahren?

Linda: Auch mit 13 nicht. Manche haben Probleme, dass sie sich irgendwie streiten, ich hatte keine Probleme, muss ich sagen.

I: Warum nicht?

Linda: Ich weiß nicht, vielleicht liegt das an meiner Person oder so, oder dass ich so offen bin. Ja, ich komme eigentlich mit jedem Menschen klar. Ich bin für alles irgendwie offen.

I: Ist das Ihrem Bruder auch so gegangen?

Linda: Das würde ich nicht sagen weil, er hat hier nur drei Monate gelebt. Er ist dann an Krebs gestorben.

I: Das heißt, er konnte das gar nicht so ausprobieren...

Linda: Nee, konnte er nicht. Er hat nur Krankenhaus gesehen und nur dieses Wohnheim, mehr konnte er nicht sehen, da er da schon krank war.

I: Er war schon krank, als sie hierher gekommen sind?

Linda: Ja. Ich habe jetzt noch einen kleinen Bruder, den haben meine Eltern geschenkt. Er ist jetzt vier Jahre alt. Der ist lustig drauf. Der redet manchmal halb Russisch, halb Deutsch, alles durcheinander [lacht]. Macht Spaß.

I: Welche Sprache, was sprechen denn Ihre Eltern? Also, Ihre Mutter war mal Deutschlehrerin.

Linda: Hmm [zustimmend], die konnte auch so Hochdeutsch. Ja, sie sprechen halb-halb wie ich. Weil, ich kann nicht einfach rein Russisch. Wenn ich rein Russisch rede sind immer ein paar Wörter Deutsch und trotzdem ein deutsches Wort dazwischen weil, ich weiß nicht, dann vergesse ich manche Wörter oder Deutsch fällt mir manchmal leichter deshalb spreche ich manchmal.

I: Wie ist das denn mit Russisch lesen und schreiben?

Linda: Ja ich hab jetzt ein russisches Buch angefangen, ja, das habe ich jetzt seit fünf Jahren nicht gelesen, es ging- aber mit Schreiben... Da schreibe ich russische Buchstaben, dazwischen kommt trotzdem ein deutscher Buchstabe. Und wenn du danach das durchliest, kannst du dich wirklich totlachen. Weil, es ist mehr deutsche Buchstaben als russische.

I: Also es ist eine Sprache, die nur Sie lesen können?

Linda: [lacht] Genau.

I: Und wie ist das mit Ihren Eltern, haben die Sie irgendwie unterstützt, als Sie hierher gekommen sind, haben sie gesagt, es ist super, wie Du in der Schule klarkommst, oder hat Ihre Mutter Ihnen geholfen mit Deutsch, oder...?

Linda: Ja, die hat mich schon unterstützt. Ich musste zur... zur Deutschkurs, da haben sie mir geraten, dass ich da hingeh, wenn ich will und ich bin auch freiwillig da hingegangen weil ich wollte auch Deutsch lernen. Meine Mutti, die hat mir auch geholfen am Anfang, aber dann nach der achten Klasse, da musste ich ihr helfen, weil manchmal fragt sie mich so, soll ich der, die oder das schreiben und ich so, Mutti! [lacht]. Da kam ich schon besser klar. Ja. Da war ich auch beim... ich hab die zehnte Klasse zweimal wiederholt und da war ich, da hab ich beim ersten Mal in der zehnten Klasse war, da habe ich so Schülerhilfe angenommen. Das hat mir

gar nichts genutzt weil, da saßen sechs bis sieben Kinder drinne und die Lehrerin, die kam nicht nach, da hab ich es sein gelassen, weil es zu teuer war. Und so beim zehnten, beim zweiten zehnten Versuch sozusagen hab ich das geschafft, selber, weil ich es wollte. Ja, meine Direktorin damals, die war richtig stolz auf mich [lacht], dass ich endlich die zehnte geschafft habe. Die ganzen Lehrer, die haben fast angefangen zu weinen, dass ich das endlich geschafft habe.

I: Das heißt, Sie hatten ganz viel Unterstützung.

Linda: Hmm [zustimmend].

I: Das ist schön. Was haben Sie denn gewusst über die Deutschen und über Deutschland, als Sie 13 waren und hierher ziehen sollten?

Linda: Eigentlich gar nichts. Überhaupt nichts.

I: Sie haben gesagt, dass Ihre Großeltern zu ihren Wurzeln zurück wollten.

Linda: Hmm [zustimmend].

I: Hatten die nicht mal was erzählt?

Linda: Die haben zwar was erzählt, aber ich hab mich nicht so... das hat mich irgendwie mit 13 nicht so interessiert ehrlich gesagt [lacht].

I: Also Sie hatten Lust, hierher zu kommen...

Linda: Ja, aber ich wusste nicht, was auf mich zukommt.

I: Und hatten Sie irgendein Bild von Deutschen im Kopf?

Linda: Nö. Überhaupt nicht.

I: Ok, also Sie sind so offen gekommen...

Linda [lacht] Ja, genau.

I: Und, das heißt Sie haben dann die Deutschen kennen gelernt und so genommen, wie sie sind?

Linda: Ja, genau. Ich hatte kein bestimmtest Bild von denen vorher, dass die so, so und so aussehen müssen oder dass die so einen Charakter haben müssen. Hab ich nie.

I: Und fahren Sie jetzt noch manchmal zurück nach Kasachstan?

Linda: Ich war seit acht Jahren nicht mehr dort.

I: Also Sie waren noch mal da, nachdem Sie hierher gezogen sind?

Linda: Nein, gar nicht mehr. Meine Eltern waren zweimal dort und ich darf sozusagen nicht, mein Freund will das nicht [lacht].

I: Warum nicht?

Linda: Der hat Angst um mich. Dass ich mit meinen Eltern und alleine wegfahre [??] Der erlaubt das nicht [lacht].

I: Er hat Sorge, dass Sie da hinfahren und nicht wiederkommen?

Linda: Genau. Oder dass mir irgendwas passiert.

I: Ihr Freund ist auch Aussiedler?

Linda: Ja, genau.

I: Und wo kommt er her?

Linda: Er kommt auch aus Kasachstan.[???] Irgendwo da in der Nähe von Russland, weil, unsere Omas sind die besten Freundinnen. Wir haben uns erst hier in Deutschland kennen gelernt. Also vor drei Jahren. Ja, und es war ein Zufall. Ich halt meiner Oma immer vor, ja, das hast Du mit Absicht gemacht [lacht].

I: Kannten sich Ihre Großmütter zuerst?

Linda: Ja, nu. Der ist mit seinen Großeltern zu meinen Großeltern gefahren so zum Besuchen. Dann hat mich meine Mama angerufen und hat gesagt ja, da ist ein Junge da [??]. Ich war gerade mit meinem Ex-Freund da zusammen- jo, da bin ich rein gegangen. Seine Großeltern kannte ich, aber ihn kannte ich nicht. Da hab ich ihn so angeguckt und irgendwie war alles vorbei [lacht]. So, dann nach und nach haben wir uns so Briefe geschrieben, SMS geschrieben.

I: Wo kommt er her?

Linda: Aus Rheinland-Pfalz. Jetzt ist er da. Wir wohnen hier zusammen.

I: In dieser Wohnung?

Linda: Nu. Er ist hierher gekommen, hat mich abgeholt, zu sich. Jo. Meine Eltern haben nichts dagegen gesagt [lacht].

I: Und wieso ist er nach Jena gezogen?

Linda: Na, wegen mir.

I: Hat er hier Arbeit gefunden?

Linda: Nein, der ist Berufssoldat.

I: Ach so, ok.

Linda: Eigentlich, na ja wir wollen, dass ich hier meine erst mal Ausbildung beende.

I: Ja.

Linda: Noch zwei Jahre, und dann wollen wir, dass wir zu ihm ziehen weil das günstiger, dass er nicht jeden Tag, ich mein nicht jede Woche hierher kommt 400 Kilometer. Das lohnt sich nämlich überhaupt nicht. So ein paar Tage. Aber der kommt [lacht].

I: Das ist schön.

Linda: Ja, klar.

I: Hatten Sie auch mal einen deutschen Freund?

Linda: Nee. Aber ich hatte einen deutschen *besten* Freund, sozusagen.

I: Einen deutschen besten Freund.

Linda: Hmm [zustimmend].

I: Haben Sie den noch?

Linda: Wir sehen uns, aber selten. Weil der ist auch irgendwo außerhalb Jena.

I: Ist das Zufall, dass sie keinen deutschen Freund hatten, oder ist das auch etwas wo Sie sagen, das passt einfach besser?

Linda: Nee, das ist glaub ich Zufall.

I: Das ist Zufall.

Linda: Weil ich, ich hätte auch nichts dagegen einen deutschen Freund zu haben. Ich, bei mir ist es kein bestimmtes Bild, ich soll Aussiedler haben oder Deutschen. Da ist kein bestimmtes Bild.

I: Würden Sie sagen, dass das jetzt besonders gut passt, ist einfach auch Zufall, das ist der Mensch?

Linda: Ja, ist eigentlich Zufall, würde ich sagen. Weil, sonst hätten wir uns in Kasachstan kennen gelernt, aber nee, unbedingt hier [lacht].

I: Naja, mit 13...

Linda:[lacht] Naja, mit 13 hab ich auch schon zwei Freunde gehabt.

I: Und welche Sprache sprechen Sie miteinander?

Linda: Auch halb-halb.

I: Halb-halb?

Linda: Hmm [zustimmend]. Das kommt irgendwie nicht, dass wir rein Russisch reden oder rein deutsch, das kommt halt halb-halb. Manchmal kommen solche Zufälle, dass wir beide darüber lachen. Gedanken, dass du russisches Wort sprichst und deutsch und das passt so, dass das irgendwie so witzig ist. Und da [lacht], manchmal lachen wir uns tot, wirklich.

I: Und wenn Sie Kinder bekommen würden, würden Sie denen auch beide Sprachen beibringen?

Linda: Ja, würd ich gern. Das ist genauso wie bei meinem Bruder jetzt. Der redet deutsch und russisch. Im Kindergarten deutsch, zu Hause halb-halb[lacht]. Das ist immer lustig.

I: Schön. Und, generell, die Freunde, die Sie haben- Sie sagten, Sie hatten zu Schulzeiten auch viele deutsche Freunde?

Linda: Hmm [zustimmend].

I: Und jetzt nicht mehr so?

Linda: Nicht mehr so, weil ich so oft bei der Arbeit bin, bei der Ausbildung. Da hab ich auch, da komm ich mit allen klar, Mitarbeitern.

I: Wo kommen die her, die anderen, mit denen Sie die Ausbildung machen?

Linda: Die sind alle Deutsche.

I: Alle Deutsche.

Linda: Ja. Da sind noch zwei Ausländer, glaub ich.

I: Hmm [überlegend]. Wenn... wenn Sie sich das aussuchen könnten, würden Sie sagen: Ich hätte gern noch ein paar mehr deutsche Freunde oder noch ein paar mehr Aussiedlerfreunde oder sagen Sie das ist gut so, wie es jetzt ist, oder sagen Sie, zu Schulzeiten war es besser?

Linda: Nö, eigentlich nicht. Ich bekomme glaube ich jedes Jahr so neue Bekanntschaften so, auch mit Deutschen und Aussiedlern [???].

I: Und Sie haben gesagt, Sie hatten mal nen besten Freund, der Deutscher war, und jetzt sehen Sie sich nicht mehr so oft.

Linda: Hmm [zustimmend]. Nee. Ist leider, eigentlich schade.

I: Und Ihr jetziger bester Freund oder Ihre jetzige beste Freundin, wo kommen die her?

Linda: Das sind Aussiedler.

I: Sind Aussiedler?

Linda: Hmm [zustimmend].

I: Aus Kasachstan auch?

Linda: Hmm [zustimmend]. Alle aus Kasachstan.

I: Alle aus Kasachstan?

Linda: Ja. Das ist ein Zufall eigentlich [lacht].

I: Das ist witzig, ja. Aber deutsche Freunde haben Sie auch noch?

Linda: Ja klar.

I: Und wenn Sie so sagen, gibt es Sachen die Sie lieber mit Deutschen unternehmen, also zum Beispiel mit denen geh ich lieber ins Kino, mit den Aussiedlern geh ich lieber feiern oder mit denen geh ich lieber Einkaufen, weil die den besseren Modegeschmack haben oder so, könnten Sie da so was sagen?

Linda: Würd ich nicht unbedingt sagen. Also, genauso mit nem Deutschen könnt ich einkaufen gehen, sie können mir Tipps geben was sie gut finden, was ich gut finde. Ins Kino, Feiern, kann ich genauso wie mit Aussiedlern- ich glaube, das unterscheidet sich kaum. Außer, dass die Aussiedler mehr trinken [lacht].

I: Ach ja?

Linda: Ja. Würd ich sagen [lacht].

I: Was machen Sie so in der Freizeit dann, also Sie sagen die Aussiedler trinken mehr und so?

Linda: Ja, weil am Wochenende ist hier wirklich gar nichts zu tun. Nur... Diskos, da musst Du irgendwo weit fahren und so. Also sonst, die jetzt, die Aussiedler, die jetzt kommen, die trinken nur am Wochenende. Da haben die wirklich nichts Besseres zu tun.

I: Die, die neu nach Deutschland gekommen sind?

Linda: Hmm [zustimmend].

I: Kennen Sie die?

Linda: Ach, vom Sehen her. Aber so- ich komm damit auch nicht klar, dass die jetzt, die haben jetzt glaub ich mehr Bedürfnisse als wir früher.

I: Mehr Bedürfnisse?

Linda: Naja, die meisten wollen nicht arbeiten. Die wollen nur auf Sozialhilfe oder auf Arbeitslosengeld sitzen und nur Kinder machen sozusagen. Weil, das sehe ich bei vielen, die jetzt kommen.

I: Und Sie würden sagen, bei, bei, bei Ihrer Generation, die, die vor acht Jahren gekommen sind, da war das anders?

Linda: Da war das anders. Alle wollten irgendwie Schulabschluss haben, dann Lehre abschließen, Arbeit, und danach kommt alles [lacht].

I: Und haben Sie eine Erklärung dafür, warum das anders geworden ist?

Linda [überlegt]: Eigentlich, ehrlich gesagt, nicht. Vielleicht konnten sie sich in Kasachstan oder Russland mehr leisten und...

I: Sind jetzt frustriert?

Linda: Genau. Weil das meistens Jugendliche so denken. Die werden bestimmt mitgeschleppt und so weil, manche kommen schon so mit zwanzig, mit 25 hierher, dabei wollten die gar nicht.

I: Sie haben gesagt, die werden mitgeschleppt- von wem?

Linda: Von Eltern.

I: Von den Eltern. Und in Ihrem Freundeskreis, würden Sie sagen, die meisten haben da eine Ausbildung oder wollten eine oder?

Linda: Jo. Die machen die meisten eine Ausbildung. Manche arbeiten schon.

I: Und wollen Sie in Deutschland bleiben?

Linda: Ja.

I: Können sie sich auch vorstellen, mal nach Kasachstan zurück zu gehen?

Linda: Zurück gehen- glaub ich nicht. Weil, ich fühle mich jetzt hier zu Hause. Jetzt hab ich mich damit abgefunden, dass ich hier zu Hause bin und es gefällt mir eigentlich. In Kasachstan, ich weiß nicht, wie ich das da irgendwie mich einleben würde oder so. Jo. Ich bleib hier [lacht].

I: Und... Sie hatten jetzt diesen, diesen Fragebogen von uns immer ausgefüllt letztes Jahr und mich würde jetzt interessieren ob Ihnen noch irgendetwas einfällt – das war ja jetzt nur ein ganz kleiner Ausschnitt, ich wollte nur etwas zu Freundschaften wissen und zu Ihrer Herkunft- und ob Sie sagen würden es gibt noch ein Thema, das zu wenig angesprochen wird oder es gibt noch irgendwelche Bereiche wo Sie sagen, das wär gut, wenn man sich darum kümmern würde?

Linda [überlegt]: Eigentlich würd ich mal sagen dass irgendwie, na ja, mehr Clubs aufgemacht werden denk ich mal, dass irgendwie die Aussiedler, dass sie sich irgendwo treffen können so zusammen mit den Deutschen öffentlich ein Platz.

I: Hatten Sie so was, als Sie hergekommen sind, gab's da so was?

Linda: Hm-hm. Eigentlich nicht.

I: Nein? Und das hätte Ihnen geholfen?

Linda [überlegt]: Es war nur einzigste das hier „Impuls“ war, da konnte man sich treffen am Anfang und danach, ich weiß nicht, da, da haben sich jedes Mal rumgekloppt und so.

I: Wer?

Linda: Aussiedler und Deutsche.

I: Aussiedler und Deutsche?

Linda: Hmm [zustimmend]. Und danach war das sozusagen aus; sonst wusstest du, dass du am Wochenende hingehen kannst, kannst tanzen, kannst was trinken, kannst du reden, hab ich auch meistens alle meine, alle deutschen Freunde getroffen- jetzt wurd es zugeschlossen dass nur für Deutsche Zutritt, das find ich unfair. Dann, wie gesagt, dass die den Club überhaupt zumachen und dann am Ende haben sie das nicht zugemacht nur noch Deutsche [?? Eintritt gemacht?]. Weil bei uns wollte jemand dort reinkommen und dann haben sie nicht rein gelassen. Wenn wir bei uns jetzt russische Disko machen, das war zum Beispiel diesen Monat glaub ich letzte Woche, da können alle reinkommen- Deutsche, Aussiedler, kein Problem.

I: Würden Sie sonst sagen, dass es einigermaßen fair zugeht zwischen Deutschen und Aussiedlern oder gibt es da schon Punkte, so wie jetzt diese Disko?

Linda: Ja, weiß nicht, dass, ja, werden irgendwie jetzt ausgeschlossen. Wenn du irgendwohin gehst, eine Einrichtung, oder kannst nicht so richtig Deutsch sprechen, dann wirst du unterdrückt. Da hab ich auch so [??] gehört, dass, die die wollte eine Wohnung nehmen weil die ist jetzt verheiratet, die ist schwanger und da war sie- da wollte sie eine Wohnung haben. Und dann sind sie dahingegangen [??] und da wurde sie so angeschrien, dass, dass die die Wohnung jetzt nicht bekommt und so, und wegen, wegen jedem kleinen Scheiß, wurde die angeschrien. Ja. Das find ich unfair. Weil, ich kann mich ja wenigstens jetzt wehren, weil ich kann, ich kann Deutsch also, bei mir geht das nicht so leicht [lacht]. Da hab ich schon in der Schule mit meinen Lehrern gestritten, weil – die wollen das nicht verstehen! Die haben mich jetzt, ein Lehrer, die haben, der hat mich unterdrückt, dass ich zwei Jahre in der Zehnten war und dass ich nicht so die LK- da hab ich ne Vier gehabt. Und ich fand das unfair. Weil meine Freundin, die hatte mehr Fehler, und die hatte ne drei, obwohl die Aussiedlerin auch ist. Da hab ich mit ihm gestritten, und er hat mich angeschrien, und da, das hab ich nicht auf mich sitzen lassen. Bin ich zu meinem, zu meiner Direktorin gegangen, hab ich alles erzählt, und hat er sich bei mir entschuldigt. Weil, der hat mich vor der ganzen Klasse zur Sau gemacht, muss ich jetzt sagen. Und das fand ich nicht ok.

I: Und das hat er gemacht, weil Sie Aussiedlerin sind?

Linda: Denk ich mal schon, weil alle anderen, die haben auch ihm Fragen gestellt wegen der LK.

I: Wie, der LK?

Linda: Das war ein LK und...

I: Ein Leistungskurs?

Linda: Hmm [zustimmend]. Und da haben die ja sozusagen, na, Leistungskontrollen geschrieben und dann, nach einer Woche hat er die zurückgegeben. Meine Freundin, die hatte mehr Fehler als ich, und die hat ne Drei bekommen. Und ich hab ne Vier, und das fand ich unfair. Da wollt ich ihn mal fragen wieso das so ist. Der hat gesagt, na ja, setz dich hin, du musst dich nicht so aufmachen, du bis jetzt zweimal in der Zehnten sitzen geblieben, du musst das besser können. Ja, da hab ich mich- ich war sauer. Da bin ich zu meiner Direktorin gegangen. Weil, das fand ich so was von unfair, alle anderen haben ihm Fragen gestellt, die hat er beantwortet und mich hat er angeschrien. Das lass ich nicht auf mir sitzen [lacht].

I: Passiert Ihnen so was öfter?

Linda: Naja, ein paar Mal ist mir das schon passiert, aber danach war denen schlecht und nicht mir [lacht].

I: Und, erzählen Sie so was zu Hause, erzählen Sie das Ihren Eltern?

Linda: Jo.

I: Und was sagen die?

Linda: Ja, du musst dich wehren [lacht]. Weil früher konnt ich mir, konnt ich meinen Mund nicht aufmachen, da hab ich mich geschämt irgendwie. Und dann hab ich mir gesagt, ja, jetzt kann ich Deutsch, jetzt kann ich auch mich wehren.

I: Früher war in Kasachstan noch oder am Anfang in Deutschland?

Linda: Deutschland. Da hatte ich zwar kleine Probleme, nicht so große, aber – konnte ich mich irgendwie nicht wehren. Ich konnte gar nichts sagen. Aber jetzt [lacht]. Jetzt rede ich zu viel, glaube ich [lacht].

I: Gut. Dann bedanke ich mich!

9.6.4.2 Jelena, 17 Jahre: „Bin ich also Dreiviertel Deutsche“

Interview am 26.08.2004 mit Jelena, 17 Jahre. Ihre Angaben im Fragebogen klassifizieren sie als „Keine der drei“ (None) in Bezug auf ihre ethnische Selbstbezeichnung. Jelena wohnt mit ihrer Mutter in einer kleinen, gepflegten Wohnung im Plattenbauviertel. Telefonisch hatten wir zuvor vereinbart, dass es um keine heiklen Themen (z.B. Rauchen) gehen wird, da ihre Mutter vermutlich anwesend sein wird. Ihre Mutter hat bei zuvorigen Telefonaten ausführlich wissen wollen, worum es geht, bevor sie ihr Einverständnis gab. Während des Gesprächs kommt sie hinzu und setzt sich in einen Sessel im selben Raum (Wohnzimmer). Ab- und zu fällt sie ins Gespräch ein, und wird von ihrer aufgeräumten Tochter immer wieder durch Gesten ermahnt, still zu sein. Als das Tonband ausgeschaltet und das Gespräch beendet ist, betont die Mutter noch mal ausdrücklich, dass es ihnen gut ginge. Jelena möchte anfangs des Gesprächs genau wissen, wen ich befrage. Sie spricht akzentfrei Deutsch.

Jelena: Ich bin jetzt direkt in Kasachstan geboren, in Semipalatinsk [?]. Ja, also, da bin ich halt geboren, aber ich bin halt vor elf Jahren hergezogen.

I: Da waren Sie wie alt?

Jelena: Da war ich sechs Jahre alt. Also, ich bin hier schon noch in den Kindergarten- nee Moment, ich bin hier in die erste Klasse gekommen, nu, also ich bin seit der ersten Klasse dann hier. Also ich hatte dort weder Schule noch sonst was.

I: Kindergarten auch nicht?

Jelena: Doch, Kindergarten schon, aber nicht erste Klasse. Und ich kann sehr schlecht schreiben und lesen, also [???]. Ich kann auch nicht großartig Dialekt. Also, ich bin hier halt groß geworden.

I: Welche Sprache sprechen- also, in Kasachstan, welche Sprache haben Sie da gesprochen?

Jelena: Russisch hab ich da, ja, Kasachisch gar nicht.

I: Und, und jetzt, also, Sie sagen, Sie sind hierher gekommen und gleich in die erste Klasse gekommen- können Sie überhaupt noch ein bisschen Russisch?

Jelena: Na klar, sprechen und verstehen tu ich. Also, hauptsächlich so allgemeine Sachen weil, na ja, meine Mutter wollte von Anfang an, dass ich halt gut Deutsch lerne und gut damit gut sprechen kann und so mich mit den Leuten verständigen kann, und da hab ich es halt ein bisschen, also, so auf spezielle Sachen kann ich mich nicht so... direkt antworten auf Russisch.

I: Sprechen Sie denn Russisch noch zu Hause?

Jelena: Eher selten. Also, manchmal.

[Die Mutter kommt nach Hause und setzt sich in einen Sessel in die andere Ecke des Raumes und hört zu]

I: Das heißt, zu Hause sprechen Sie noch wie viel Russisch?

Jelena: Ja, so vielleicht ein Viertel.

I: Ein Viertel. Mal so reingemischt oder?

Jelena: Ja, so manchmal wenn geschimpft wird oder so oder, ja. Manchmal auch gemischte Sachen, wenn's der Mutti vielleicht nicht so das deutsche Wort einfällt sagt se's halt auf Russisch, und ich manchmal auch. Aber sonst so größtenteils alles auf Deutsch.

I: Mit wem sind Sie denn hierher gekommen?

Jelena: Mit meiner Mutter und mit teilweise meinen Verwandten. Also, einige waren noch dort, die sind viele Jahre später dann erst hergekommen... und so, also.

I: Sind die dann auch nach Jena gekommen?

Jelena: Nee, die Verwandten wohnen drüben im Westen, Richtung Köln.

I: Ok, also ein ganzes Stück weiter weg.

Jelena: Ja. Also ich bin mit meiner Mutter mittlerweile hier alleine.

I: Sie waren von Anfang an in Jena?

Jelena: Naja, erst kommt man ja in so Aussiedler, und dann sind wir nach Jena gekommen

I: Das war aber auch hier in der Nähe, oder nicht?

Jelena: Ähm, einmal in Kiel, *Frage an die Mutter*: War das in Kiel, Schönberg? War das da? Schönberg. Dann waren wir in Frauenprießnitz und in Eisenberg, und dann sind wir hierher gekommen.

I: In so vielen?

Jelena: Ja. Drei waren wir, in drei Lagern. Meine Verwandten sind dann halt rüber, und wir sind dann hier geblieben. Weil ich ja schon Schule gemacht hatte und weil ich das hier beenden will.

I: Können Sie sich noch erinnern als Sie da sechs Jahre alt waren und gesagt wurde, so, jetzt gehen wir nach Deutschland?

Jelena: Äh.

[Mutter lacht: Ja hat sie gesagt]

Jelena: Ja, ich weiß nur noch dass wir zum Flughafen, uns ins Flugzeug gesetzt haben, und dann waren wir hier. Und dann [???].

[Mutter erzählt von den fünf Stunden Unterschied]

Jelena [unterbricht die Mutter]: Ich weiß nur, dass ich mir Sorgen gemacht hatte, dass ich dann in Deutschland nicht klarkommen würde wegen der Sprache. Weil ich dachte, ich kann mich gar nicht mit den Leuten unterhalten, wie soll ich denn meine Freunde kennen lernen. Aber das hat sich dann von alleine erledigt. Und dann, in der Schule, hab ich neue...

[Mutter: Kindergarten]

Jelena: Hab ich, war ich doch im Kindergarten hier?

[Mutter bejaht, nennt den Kindergarten]

Jelena: Echt.

[Mutter: Das gibt's doch gar nicht. Weißt Du das nicht mehr? Lacht. Erzählt, dass sie doch immer mit den „diesen Aussiedlerkindern“ in der Ecke gesessen habe und nur Russisch gequatscht. Und ein paar Tage, da musste sie ausziehen auf einmal kommt sie und spricht Deutsch. Das war wahnsinnig. Ich hätts selber nicht geglaubt...Mutter redet begeistert:]

Jelena: Ja, war schon ok.

I: Aber seit der ersten Klasse in Deutschland, das heißt, man hört ja auch wirklich gar nichts- ist Deutsch jetzt Ihre Muttersprache?

Jelena: Ja. Ja. Unsere Vorfahren sind ja auch Deutsche, also.

[Mutter: Wir sind ja auch Deutsche]

Jelena: Ja.

I: Den Pass auch, den deutschen?

Jelena: Ja. [???]. Bin ja auch hier groß geworden. Aber mein Vater ist halt noch Russe. Und die Vorfahren sind halt Deutsche.

I: Und woher aus Deutschland?

[Mutter: Das ist schon 150 Jahre her. Erzählt, dass sie unter Katharina der Großen ausgewandert wären. Die Deutschen hätten es in Deutschland wahrscheinlich auch nicht so gut gehabt, und deswegen hätte Katharina sie eingeladen und Arbeit versprochen, dass sie etwas aufbauen können. (...) Mein Opa hat immer gesagt, wenn das möglich wäre, er würde zu Fuß nach Deutschland zurückgehen, immer, immer. (...)]

I: Konnten Sie ein bisschen Deutsch, als Sie hierher gekommen sind?

Jelena: Ähm, gar nicht eigentlich. So ein bisschen. Ich weiß nur...

[Mutter unterbricht sie]

Jelena: Ja. aber ich weiß noch, mit Oma hab ich manchmal...

[Mutter unterbricht: Meine Oma kann nur Deutsch. Meine Oma konnte überhaupt kein Russisch.]

Jelena: Das hab ich ja mitgekriegt.

I. Ach ja?

[Mutter: Ja. Deswegen. Und die haben das mitgekriegt, aber nie gesprochen.]

Jelena: Ja.

[Mutter: Und da war das irgendwie, auf der Straße, [???] aufpassen]

Jelena: [???] Russische Freunde.

I: Wenn man Deutsch gesprochen hat, musste man aufpassen?

[Mutter: Ja, nicht so direkt, aber manchmal, na ja (spricht sehr leise)]

I: Und, und, und, und können Sie sich erinnern wie das Gefühl dann war in Deutschland?

Jelena: Am Anfang, weiß ich noch, das war so, als ich das erste Mal in Deutschland war, ich finde, also, das hat mir anfangs nicht so gefallen, also, die haben immer so erzählt, ja Deutschland ist so schön und so, und dann immer diese hässlichen Hochhäuser und so und dann alles total alt. Da dachte ich mir, na ja, aber dann, also, dann hat, so, nachdem ich dann hier war mit der Wohnung und Schule und so, da hat mir das eigentlich, da hab ich mich daran gewöhnt und hat mir dann immer besser gefallen. Und jetzt möchte ich dann eigentlich auch gar nicht mehr weg.

I: Waren Sie noch mal in Kasachstan?

Jelena: Nein. Nein, war ich noch nicht. Werd ich vielleicht später, aber... noch nicht.

I: Gibt es noch Kontakte dorthin?

Jelena: Ähm, einige. Manchmal. Weil...ja, väterlicherseits haben wir noch Verwandte.

[Mutter: Also, wir sind geschieden (???). Wir haben unsere Verwandten alle hier]

Jelena: Von meinem Vater die Verwandten sind halt drüben in Kasachstan noch. Der ist halt nicht ganz so der Kontakt wegen, weil ich das manchmal nicht so hinkriege, aber na ja. Jetzt hab ich eigentlich alle Verwandte hier.

I: Würde das denn gehen mit dem Telefonieren zum Beispiel auf Russisch?

Jelena: Ja, klar, ja.

[Mutter lacht: kaum].

Jelena: Naja, schwierig, weil ich bin halt die Grammatik und so nicht gewohnt und sie ist halt schwierig die Grammatik. Also ansonsten, wenn ich mich halt ausdrücke, die Leute verstehen das dann schon. Also, klar. Basteln sich dann so ihren Teil zusammen und wissen dann im Endeffekt was ich meine. Hmm. Ich versuchs so gut wie möglich.

I: Sind Sie gerne hier in Deutschland? Wie gefällt es Ihnen hier?

Jelena: Ja, also ich hab größtenteils jetzt hier deutsche Freunde. Ich versteh mich super mit ihnen. Also, besser als mit den russischen Leuten.

I: Besser als mit den russischen Leuten, oder besser als mit den russischen Aussiedlern?

Jelena: Ich, also ich hab auch teilweise russische Freunde früher gehabt, eigentlich sehr häufig. Weiß eigentlich gar nicht, ob die nun Ausländer sind oder Aussiedler.

[Mutter: Wir sind Russlanddeutsche. Wir sind auch genauso Deutsche, deswegen]

I: Deswegen fragte ich. Sind hier ausländische Russen selten?

Jelena: Naja, ich denk mal- man unterhält sich ja nicht so, na, biste Aussiedler oder biste Ausländer oder bist du heimlich hier oder so. Da unterhält man sich nicht drüber. Man weiß halt, die können Russisch, die kommen aus Russland, die sind da geboren. Und ich kenn auch jemanden, der ist hier geboren, aber die Mutter ist halt Russin. Der kann sich auch auf Russisch unterhalten, aber nicht ganz so gut. Aber ansonsten? Gefällt es mir hier eigentlich ganz gut.

I: Auch in Jena?

Jelena: Auch in Jena. Ja. Also, ich werd hier schon noch ne Weile bleiben. Denk ich.

I: Ja?

Jelena: Hmm [zustimmend]. Aber dann wegen halt Arbeiten und so, denk ich, wird das hier sehr problematisch, deswegen werd ich überlegen, ob ich dann irgendwo hingeh.

I: Haben Sie denn schon eine Idee, was Sie machen wollen?

Jelena: Ich will so in das Sozialwesen, die Sozialpädagogik eventuell studieren oder so, und dann so Sozialwesen, so in die Richtung gehen.

I: Das könnte auch Psychologie sein!

Jelena: Ja, das könnte natürlich auch! Habe ich mir auch schon überlegt.

I: Ja, das wär ja vielleicht gar nicht schlecht- jetzt kennen Sie schon Leute hier. Ich hätte dann mal ne Frage, die ist ein wenig schwierig, aber würde Ihnen etwas einfallen wo Sie sagen würden, das ist typisch für einen Aussiedler, oder das ist ein typischer Aussiedler bei mir an der Schule?

Jelena: Ja man, man kriegt das schon mit, also, mit den alten Frauen kriegt man das mit, die sind halt noch ein bisschen so, aber auch bei Jungen. Also, entweder wenn man sich richtig Deutsch unterhält, also, am Dialekt würd ich sagen. Sofort. Vielleicht noch an der Einstellung, also, weiß nicht, manchmal sind Russlanddeutsche so, na so... die wollen sich halt prügeln und so bei den Deutschen, äh Russen hab ich mitgekriegt ist das öfters mal so. Aber ansonsten. Eigentlich.

I: Was war das eben mit den älteren Frauen?

Jelena: Also, na ja, die sieht man halt mit dem Kopftuch und so, das ist halt typisch Russisch.

I: Also vom Aussehen.

Jelena: Genau. Ansonsten sehen sie ja alle gleich aus, würd ich sagen.

I: Wie die Deutschen?

Jelena: Ja. Ich finde schon.

I: Also dann so im Vergleich, ein typischer Deutscher?

Jelena: Na gut, hmm, [lacht], vielleicht, na ja, eigentlich ist es schon so, man kann ja schon bisschen Russland- so ein russische Leute und deutsche Leute unterscheiden, vielleicht von den Gesichtszügen her oder so, weiß ich nicht. Aber ansonsten. Ich weiß jetzt nicht direkt. Also würden Sie mich jetzt als, würden Sie mich jetzt...

I: Nee, ich überhaupt nicht, nee nee, ich würde es nicht merken, deswegen frage ich, ob das, ob man sich gegenseitig auf der Straße erkennt, oder ob man das...

Jelena: Also ich könnte schon wenn ich jetzt rumlaufen würde, würde ich schon sagen können den Unterschied, vielleicht, kein richtiger Deutscher oder so, aber ist halt Ausländerverhalten. Aber wenn man sich nicht mit den Leuten unterhält und so, dann...

I: Es gibt andere Jugendliche die haben mir erzählt, dass man das ganz stark an der Kleidung merken würde oder an der Schminke, dass sich die Aussiedlermädchen stärker schminken würden, dass die deutschen Jungs eher Turnschuhe tragen und irgendwelche weiteren Hosen.

Jelena: Nun gut, aber es gibt auch [???Markenname?] und so, etwas weitere Hosen tragen, und deutsche Mädchen schminken sich genauso stark und, ich weiß nicht, manche, es gibt genauso viele, also, ich würde das nicht so auf die Allgemeinheit beschränken. Es gibt natürliche russische Mädchen genauso wie Deutsche und darum würd ich das nicht, also...

I: Ist spannend, also, weil [???]. Wir hatten auch eine Frage im Fragebogen, ich sehe mich selbst als Aussiedler. Was würden Sie da sagen, ja, nein?

Jelena: Also so wie ich jetzt- also, von daher, dass ich hier schon ziemlich lange wohne und die anderen Freunde, also meine Freunde sehen mich auch gar nicht mehr als Aussiedler. Ich bin, also die behandeln mich eigentlich, eigentlich wie so ne Deutsche halt. So. Die machen sich- also, am Anfang haben sich manche lustig über mich gemacht, weil ich mal Probleme hatte mit der Sprache, aber mittlerweile ist das gar nicht, die sagen du hast dich gut entwickelt, du hast keinen Dialekt mehr und so. Die mögen mich so wie ich bin und akzeptieren mich, und manchmal vergess ich sogar dass ich gar nich in Deutschland geboren bin. Ich finde, ich habe mich hier gut eingelebt.

I: Und auf die Frage: Ich bin Deutsche?

Jelena [Überlegt]: Ja, da seh ich mich halb-halb. Also, ich bin stolz, dass ich also auch ne andere Nationalität hab, so, teilweise. Also, da hab ich vielleicht nen kleinen Vorteil, weil ich mehrere Sprachen kann, weil, ich hab halt ne Mutter, die ist Deutsche und nen Vater, der ist Russe und da bin ich ja nicht ganz deutsch, aber weil ich halt mehr Zeit in Deutschland verbracht habe bin ich also Dreiviertel Deutsche.

I: Dreiviertel Russe und Einviertel Deutsche...

Jelena: Genau...

I: Also ein Arm ist Russisch und der Rest...

Jelena: Genau.

I: Ok. Und, und wenn Sie sich das aussuchen könnten, was wären Sie denn dann am liebsten? Ist das ok so, oder könnten Sie sich vorstellen, ich wäre lieber gern halb-halb, oder sagen Sie, das ist gut so?

Jelena: Ich finds... ich finds eigentlich so ok. Also, ich meine, ich denk manchmal ich hätte größere Probleme wenn ich dort länger geblieben wäre. Wenn ich dann dort noch Schule und so alles angefangen hätte, hätte ich hier auch größere Probleme mich einzuleben, integretieren, integrieren [lacht], und halt, weiß nicht, dann hätt ich auch glaub ich größeren Dialekt, ich weiß nicht, ist halt so, die, die mehr Zeit in Russland verbracht haben, habens schwerer als wenn ich

von Anfang an hier bin, von der ersten Klasse. Von daher, weil ich schon in der ersten Klasse bin, die waren alle noch klein, da haben sie sowieso den Unterschied noch nicht, ob sie nun Russisch sind oder von Deutschland, und dadurch habe ich halt die ganzen Freundschaften aufgebaut. Also, ich finds ok so.

I.: Und wenn ich jetzt in einem Jahr wiederkommen würde, würden Sie da das selbe sagen? Dreiviertel- ein Viertel?

Jelena: Ja. Ja, ich mein, ich hab von Anfang an so gedacht.

I: Ja?

Jelena: Ja. Also, am Anfang ok, da hab ich mir gedacht, na ja gut, irgendwie Hochdeutsch, halb Russisch, ok, da war ich so Hälfte-Hälfte, aber ich hab mich da noch so ein bisschen mehr Russisch gesehen, weil ich konnte kein, hab halt die deutsche Sprache nicht beherrscht und so, hatte kaum deutsche Freunde, immer so mit russischen Freunden. Aber mittlerweile hat sich das geändert. Das wird sich in einem Jahr auch nicht ändern. Dann bin ich halt noch länger hier, und dann bin ich trotzdem noch ein Teil russisch, weil ja mein Vater und so. Und ich bin ja halt dort geboren. Ich finde schon...

I: Also, jetzt muss ich noch mal nachfragen: Auf die Frage „Ich bin Aussiedler“ sagen Sie: Ein Viertel. Und das ist dasselbe wie ein Viertel Russisch? Oder sind das zwei unterschiedliche Sachen?

Jelena: Naja. Also, Russland ist ja nicht Deutschland, ist ja trotzdem ein anderes Land. Hier sehen die Leute ja auch Russland oder Amerika oder sonst wo, trotzdem sind alles Aussiedler. Naja. Ich bin halt aus Russland und das, das ist halt auch n Aussiedler. Naja, also ich, ja, is für mich eigentlich alles ein Brei so.

I: Ein Brei.

Jelena: So.

I: Das heißt, auch wenn Sie aus Kasachstan kommen, würden Sie sagen durch den Vater das mit dem Russisch?

Jelena: Hmm [zustimmend].

I: Also nicht so richtig von dem in Kasachstan geboren und deswegen?

Jelena: Mein Vater ist ja auch Russe. Der ist ja kein Kasache.

[Mutter sagt irgendetwas im Hintergrund]

Jelena: Ja, genau, das war ja früher die Sowjetunion.

[Mutter sagt irgendetwas im Hintergrund]

Jelena: Und Kasachisch gar nicht. Es gibt, glaub ich, einen Verwandten, der kann ein bisschen Kasachisch, aber ansonsten. Nee. Mit der Sprache hab ich gar nichts zu tun.

I: Jetzt waren Sie erst sechs, als Sie hierher gekommen sind. Aber gab es trotzdem irgendetwas, was Sie vorher schon wussten über Deutschland, vielleicht über die Großmutter oder so?

Jelena: Na, ich wusste nur dass es hier in Deutschland alles besser sein soll, total schön, neuer, alles prima. Also, ich hab eigentlich nur ziemlich viel Positives über Deutschland gehört, deswegen hab ich mich auch drauf gefreut gehabt. Ja.

I: Und wie war das dann, als Sie hergekommen sind- ich mein, das ist lange her aber hatte sich das bestätigt oder war das...

Jelena: Na ja, wie gesagt, ähm, am Anfang hab ich halt gedacht, als wir in den Lagern waren, so, nicht direkt in [???], alles so alt und die großen Häuser und alles so, weiß ich nicht. Weil, mir wurde das so beschrieben, ja alles tiptop sauber, echt super, alles renoviert. Und man kam hierher und halt alte Blockhäuser und so. Naja, hat mir... also, der erste Eindruck war nicht so prickelnd. Aber das hat sich dann mit der Zeit wieder gelegt.

I: Wie lang waren Sie denn in den Lagern?

Jelena [überlegt]: Hmm. Im ersten Lager waren wir, also, zwei Jahre. Im zweiten [überlegt]. Also, ich weiß nur im dritten...

I: Insgesamt?

Jelena: Ja, ungefähr (zögert) drei Jahre.

[Mutter sagt irgendetwas im Hintergrund].

Jelena: Insgesamt. Insgesamt waren wir doch länger, Mama.

[Mutter sagt irgendetwas im Hintergrund].

Jelena: Zwei Jahre waren wir da. Also ungefähr. Ein Jahr. Also ungefähr, würde ich sagen. Eineinhalb Jahre bis zwei Jahre.

[Mutter sagt irgendetwas im Hintergrund]

I: War das gleich diese Wohnung hier?

Jelena: Nee, vorher waren wir woanders gewohnt.

[Mutter sagt irgendwas im Hintergrund. Dass die neue Wohnung einen Balkon hat.]

Jelena: Ist auch näher an der Schule.

[Mutter sagt irgendwas im Hintergrund, etwas über den tollen Blick].

Jelena: Und die Schule in der Nähe, zwei Minuten.

[Mutter sagt irgendetwas im Hintergrund]

I: Und die Freunde, wohnen die auch hier?

Jelena: Die wohnen- größtenteils wohnen wir alle hier. Manchmal in Ost auch, manchmal in Winzerla. Und in der Stadt sind noch ein paar verteilt. Aber größtenteils wohnen wir hier.

I: Und vorhin hatten Sie gesagt, dass die meisten Freunde Deutsche sind.

Jelena: Ja.

I: Richtig?

Jelena: Ist richtig. Also am Anfang, hatte ich nur Klassenkameraden als Freunde. Das waren größtenteils Deutsche. Dann war mal ne Zeitlang, da hatte ich ne Freundin, hatte ich ein Mädchen kennen gelernt, die war aus Russland, eine Russlanddeutsche, hab ich, hat sie mir ihre Freunde vorgestellt, war ich mit Russlanddeutschen unterwegs und hab so meine Freunde, und dann hab ich so, also momentan beschränke ich mich halt auf meine Klassenkameraden weil die sind auch meistens meine Freunde. Oder halt, Leute, die ich so mal kennen gelernt habe durch andere Leute, die sind aber auch aus Deutschland. Also manche aus unserer, aus meiner Klasse, manche sind ja auch Russlanddeutsche. Mit denen verstehe ich mich auch gut.

I: Aber die meisten Freunde sind Schulkameraden?

Jelena: [überlegt] Hälfte-Hälfte, würd ich sagen. Sind gute Freunde, aber so meine besten Freunde sind halt, die ich so kennen gelernt habe.

I: Über die Schulkameraden oder...

Jelena: Zum Beispiel.

I: Oder Sport...

Jelena: Genau.

I: Wie?

Jelena: Ja, über meine anderen Freunde, die, also, das geht halt so, ich, man lernt Freunde kennen und die haben andere Freunde und dann lernt man halt die anderen Freunde kennen und dann immer so weiter.

I: Und was machen Sie so mit Ihren Freunden?

Jelena: Ja, meistens gehen wir raus, entweder, oder, na ja, manchmal spielen die Jungs Fußball und wir sitzen einfach da und gucken oder feuern die an. Oder, oder wir gehen, weiß ich nicht, wir gehen Volleyball spielen oder sitzen einfach nur da unterhalten uns oder hören mal Musik oder treffen uns bei jemandem zu Hause. Manchmal, wenn Geburtstagsfeier ist, treffen wir uns bei jemandem, feiern wir. Aber ansonsten, momentan ist halt [??] wegen Schule und so und wir alle viel zu tun haben. Dann treffen wir uns auch wegen Schule und so, aber ansonsten nicht großartig viel. Viel Freizeit, also, wenn, dann nur am Wochenende.

I: Und beim Fußball, da gucken Sie nur zu, da spielen Sie nicht mit?

Jelena: Manchmal, aber da wird man immer so ausgelacht [lacht].

I: Ja?

Jelena: Ja. Die Jungs sind immer so Profis und so, und die Mädchen können nix. Hmm. Ansonsten kann man hier großartig so richtig viel nicht machen. Also, weil, ich hab auch noch kein Geld und so. Und, da kann ich nicht großartig was machen. Ins Kino zu kommen, das

ginge mal, ok, Bummeln gehen. Ansonsten kann man hier gar nichts großartig, gar nichts. Kaum Freizeitangebote.

I: Was wäre denn eine gute Idee für ein Freizeitangebot?

Jelena: Also ich würd zum Beispiel gerne entweder so nen Tanzkurs besuchen, vielleicht. Also, würde mich schon interessieren.

I: Was für einen Tanzkurs?

Jelena: Naja, nicht so unbedingt Ballett oder so. Ich mein so'n modern dance oder so. Vielleicht wird an unserer Schule vielleicht Salsa unterrichtet und für so was würd ich mich schon interessieren. Und, ja, so in die Richtung vielleicht.

I: Was glauben Sie, was Ihre Freunde gerne machen würden? Was, was würden die?

Jelena: Also die Jungs spielen größtenteils, ähm, Fußball. Und die meisten, die ich kenne sind auch im Verein und so. Und, ja, Mädchen, halt auch irgendwie Tanzen oder so. Manche gehen in den Chor. Und so. Ja.

I: Aber so einen Verein wie für die Jungs gibt's für die Mädchen nicht?

Jelena: Fußball?

I: Na, irgendeinen Sport.

Jelena: Ja manche, also eine Freundin von mir macht Basketball [???] zum Beispiel. Find ich auch ok, aber, da muss man halt sehn wie man Zeit hat. Ist halt so momentan in der Schule hab ich manchmal bis um vier Unterricht, und da ist halt nicht mehr viel mit Freizeit. Muss man sich halt mit Hausaufgaben und so beschäftigen. Ist halt nur noch am Wochenende Zeit und das, na ja.

I: Und dann kommt jemand von der Uni und stellt Fragen...

Jelena: Kein Problem.

I: Wie ist das mit Aussiedlerfreunden, haben Sie noch welche?

Jelena: Ja, klar. Also, ich hab Bekannte, das sind Russlanddeutsche, mit denen versteh ich mich gut, würd ich aber nicht zu meinem Freundeskreis zählen. Ja, ansonsten vereinzelt, also, einzelne vom Sehen. Aber mit denen habe ich auch nicht so viel zu tun.

I: Wie kommt das?

Jelena: Ähm, ich weiß nicht, also, weil die sich meistens immer so auf Russisch unterhalten. Und daher, dass ich halt schon Deutsch und so, weiß ich nicht. Ist mir das manchmal unangenehm auf Russisch zu reden, weil ich halt weiß, dass ich manchmal da Probleme mit hab und außerdem, das ist eigentlich genauso wie mit Deutschen, die wissen eigentlich auch nicht großartig, was sie machen sollen. Die hängen entweder rum oder, weiß ich nicht.

I: Mischt sich das denn sonst, oder, oder gibt es da hier die Aussiedlermädchen und feuern die Jungs beim Fußball an und dort die Deutschen und feuern die Deutschen beim Fußball an?

Jelena: Nö, also, wir verstehen uns alle super.

I: Also hier gibt's keine...

Jelena: In meinem Freundeskreis nicht, aber wie gesagt, es sind halt weniger... Also mich behandeln sie ganz normal, den einen Klassenkameraden der auch Russlanddeutsch ist auch ganz normal. Weil, die kennen uns schon seit zehn Jahren und so. Aber manchmal haben die halt so Vorurteile, wenn ich jemanden grüße auf der Straße, so einen Russlanddeutschen, dann sagen die auch schon, na ja.

I: Die deutschen Freunde?

Jelena: Hmm [überlegt]. Manchmal. Da sind sie dann nicht so, also haben sie, irgendwie, ja, so ein bisschen. Aber na ja. Weil, die meisten sagen mir die haben halt nicht so gute Sachen, vor allem die Jungs, die russlanddeutschen Jungs. Das heißt. Weiß ich nicht.

I: Können Sie das bestätigen?

Jelena [überlegt]: Ich weiß halt nicht. Weil ich momentan wenig mit denen zu tun habe. Ich meine, ich denke mal die haben Vorurteile, weil die kennen die ja nicht wirklich. Also, die hören manchmal was und, ähm, allgemein... die sind ja nicht alle so. Ich mein, die können auch ganz nette sein und manchmal halt sinds halt Prügelknaben, genauso wie die Deutschen auch. Also. [Lacht].

I: So. Und jetzt, wenn Sie, wenn Sie sich Ihre Zukunft vorstellen, Sie haben ja schon gesagt, Sie würden gerne studieren. Sie denken, dass Sie mal hier weg müssen auf Grund der Arbeitsmarktsituation...

Jelena: Ja nicht unbedingt, ich würde auch gerne lieber mehr in der Nähe meiner Verwandten sein, also, vielleicht in der Nähe, weil sind schließlich 500 km und da sind wir einmal im Jahr und ich würde da schon auch deswegen, ist auch ein Teil. Ein Grund.

I: Richtung Köln.

Jelena: Ja, so. Mit meiner Mutti da hin.

I: Ja? Ist das ein Ziel?

Jelena: Ja, auf jeden Fall. Ich hab nicht vor, mein Leben hier zu verbringen. Klar, ich bin, ich bin jetzt seit elf, seit zwölf Jahren hier. Hmm ja, mal wieder was Neues.

I: Aber in Deutschland?

Jelena: Ja. Ich hab vor, wenn ich mein Abitur fertig hab, für ein Jahr nach Amerika zu gehen, als Au-Pair Mädchen. Und... dann muss ich mal gucken.

I: Nach Amerika als Au-Pair Mädchen warum?

Jelena: Weil mich das interessieren würde. Ich würde dann erstens mich- die Sprache besser beherrschen. Das wird halt überall verlangt. In England war ich ein Mal. Und außerdem würde mich das interessieren, mal was anderes kennen zu lernen, andere Kultur und so. Weiß nicht.

Also, würde mir schon Spaß machen. Ich verdiene da ja auch noch was, außerdem bin ich, also, Babysitten ist auch so, da bin ich, bin ich sehr geeignet für. Ich beschäftige mich gern mit Kindern. Ja, das ist halt alles zusammen und deswegen, denk ich, ist schon ne tolle Sache.

I: So, jetzt habe ich noch eine Frage, und zwar, das ist auch die letzte. Dieser Fragebogen, den wir da in der Schule verteilt haben und den wir auch noch mal geschickt haben, und da haben wir versucht, weil wir mit vielen Aussiedlern vorher geredet haben, möglichst viele Bereiche zu finden, die wichtig sind. Gibt es noch irgendwas, wo Sie denken würden, das hätte ich aber gebraucht oder- also, wie zum Beispiel zu sagen hier gibt es aber nicht so richtig gute Freizeitangebote. Gibt es noch irgendetwas, was, ja, Politiker oder Wissenschaftler wissen sollten? Oder: Die Frage wäre noch gut gewesen, die zu stellen?

Jelena: [überlegt].

I: Ist die schwerste Frage, deswegen stelle ich sie zum Schluss.

Jelena: Ähm, ja. Also, das ist eigentlich schon mein größtes Problem eigentlich. Immer, also, wenn man sich schon treffen will, man trifft sich halt, man sitzt da einfach irgendwo auf der Bank, weiß halt nichts mit sich anzufangen, echt gar nichts. Also, entweder alles ist so teuer, oder, weiß halt nicht. Und weiß ich ja auch- man weiß ja auch nicht, wo man sich treffen soll, wenn man sich einfach so mit Freunden trifft, entweder sitzt man irgendwo auf der Straße auf der Bank- also, es gibt nicht mal nen Club oder so, wo man sich wirklich mal treffen kann, ungestört reden kann, einfach mal seinen Spaß haben kann. Also, ich weiß nicht. Da gibt es ganz wenig hier so. Und wenn es draußen im Winter kalt ist, möchte man ja nicht unbedingt draußen vor der Tür stehen. Möchte man halt irgendwo hingehen, wo man ein bisschen Musik hören kann und so. Aber da gibt's hier halt kaum Angebote. Von daher. Ja.

I: Das wär's? Das wäre der große Wunsch?

[Mutter sagt irgendetwas im Hintergrund]

Jelena: Was ich auch ein bisschen blöd finde, unsere Schule, unsere Schule zieht jetzt auch um.

I: Die zieht wohin?

Jelena: Nach Jena-Ost. Ein Jahr vor dem Abitur. Bin in der elften Klasse. Also, dieses Jahr machen wir noch ganz und dann, weil, so wenig Schüler und so, finanzielle Lage ist halt sehr kritisch, und dann zieht das halt zusammen mit dem Schott Gymnasium.

I: So eine Schulfusion?

Jelena: Ja. Ein Jahr vor dem Abitur, die haben ganz andere Lehrer. Ist nur noch ein Jahr, da wird das noch schwieriger, das Abitur zu bestehen.

I: Wie ist denn Ihr Ziel mit dem Abitur? Welche Note solls denn werden?

Jelena: Naja, ich bin da halt eher Durchschnitt. So.

I: Das wär drei.

Jelena: Zwei. Drei würd ich auch noch ok finden, also zwei bis drei. Also, ein Einserkandidat bin ich nicht unbedingt, aber so, so in der Mitte, also nicht schlecht, aber auch.

I: Und welche Leistungskurse werden das sein?

Jelena: Ich hab Deutsch und Biologie.

I: Die hat ich auch. Ist ne gute Mischung. Ok, dann bin ich jetzt fertig.

[Beim Hinausgehen sagt die Mutter, die das ganze Interview über in einem Sessel im selben Raum gesessen hat, dass ich ja gesehen habe, dass es ihnen gut geht und das alles in Ordnung wäre.]

9.6.4.3 Alexander, 17 Jahre: „Ich bin genauso gern auch Deutscher“

Interview am 08.09.2004 mit Alexander, 17 Jahre. Alexander wohnt mit seinen Eltern in einer kleinen, gepflegten Wohnung im Plattenbauviertel. Er ist in Deutschland geboren, Sohn einer russischen Mutter und eines deutschen Vaters. Seine Angaben im Fragebogen klassifizieren ihn als „Russe-Aussiedler“ in Bezug auf seine ethnische Selbstbezeichnung. Seine Mutter kommt während des Gesprächs nach Hause, zeigt Interesse an der Studie, hält sich aber raus. Alexander ist von einer anderen Studienteilnehmerin an mich vermittelt worden. Er spricht akzentfrei Deutsch.

I: Also, das erste, was ich fragen wollte ist, wo Sie geboren sind?

Alexander: Ich bin in Erfurt geboren.

I: In Erfurt?

Alexander: Ja.

I: Und die Jelena hat mir erzählt, dass Ihre Mutter Russin ist?

Alexander: Genau.

I: Und Ihr Vater?

Alexander: Mein Vater ist auch Deutsch.

I: Deutsch. Ist er Aussiedler oder ist er Deutscher?

Alexander: Mein Vater ist Deutscher. Soll ich sagen wie meine Mutter? Meine Mutter hat er so kennen gelernt, dass er halt wie jetzt immer im Außendienst war und da war er halt weil die Grenze noch nicht offen war ist er halt nach Russland immer in den Außendienst gefahren und dort hat er halt meine Mutter in Russland halt kennen gelernt.

I: Und mitgenommen

Alexander: Und mitgenommen. Ja.

I: Und Sie sind hier geboren.

Alexander: Ja. Ich bin hier geboren.

I: Als einziges Kind?

Alexander: Als einziges Kind.

I: Und da, haben Sie noch Kontakt zu Russland?

Alexander: Ja, wir fahren so regelmäßig eigentlich.

I: Was heißt das, regelmäßig?

Alexander: So einmal im Jahr. Und wenn's, dieses Jahr wissen wir noch nicht wirklich, ob wir fahren, weil ich bin ja jetzt über sechzehn und da hat mein, stehe ich bei meiner Mutter nicht mehr im Pass drinne und damit ich Visum beantragen und alles, das dauert halt ein bisschen.

I: Ihre Mutter hat noch den russischen Pass?

Alexander: Ja.

I: Und Sie haben den deutschen?

Alexander: Genau.

I: Und sprechen Sie Russisch?

Alexander: Ja. Fließend.

I: Fließend?

Alexander: Ja.

I: Welche Sprache sprechen Sie denn hier zu Hause?

Alexander: Das ist meistens so ein russisch-deutsch Mix mit meiner Mama. Weil mein Vater ist ja die Woche nicht da, der ist nur am Wochenende zu Hause und wir haben so, so einen typischen Satz der das so am meisten beschreibt, der heißt *unas Kühlshrank*, das heißt so viel wie „wir haben einen Kühlschrank.“ Weil, diesen, das war mal vor Urzeiten hat den mal meine Mutter mal rausgehauen diesen Satz, von daher sagen wir immer wenn wir, meine Mutter, die will halt immer dass ich entweder sprech ich Deutsch, soll ich Deutsch reden, oder ich soll Russisch reden. Aber ich mach meistens so, so’n Mischmasch draus.

I: Aber Deutsch können Sie ja, das hör ich ja, können Sie ja reden ohne zu mischen.

Alexander: Ja.

I: Können Sie denn auch Russisch reden ohne zu mischen?

Alexander: Ich kann auch Russisch reden ohne zu mischen.

I: Und das heißt, wenn Sie Ihre Verwandten besuchen, dann ist das kein Problem?

Alexander: Ist kein Problem.

I: Haben Sie einen Akzent?

Alexander: Ja, ich habe einen klar und deutlichen Akzent.

I: Einen deutschen Akzent?

Alexander: Ja.

I: Witzig. Wie findet Ihre Mutter das?

Alexander: Ach, meine Mutter findet das normal. Die kennt mich nicht anders. Na ja gut, meine Mutter, sie hat wo ich drei war da hab ich so da war ich drei Monate in Russland, da war meine Mutter arbeitslos und da waren wir halt bei meiner Oma zu Besuch. Und vorher konnte ich nicht wirklich reden Russisch. Auf einmal, ich hab zwei Wochen kein Wort gesagt, auf einmal hab einfach die ganze Zeit angefangen zu reden, zu reden, zu reden und, ja, ohne Akzent und dann irgendwie im Alltag kam dann immer mehr Akzent.

I: Was für Verwandte haben Sie noch so in Russland?

Alexander: Ich hab eigentlich alle Verwandten die von meiner Mutterseite sind. Also, Oma, Tanten, Cousins, Onkels.

I: Kommen die auch mal hier her um Sie zu besuchen?

Alexander: Die kommen eher selten. Also, meine Oma, die ist halt ziemlich alt, die kann nicht mehr. Und. Also, zu wichtigen Anlässen, so wie 50. Geburtstag von meinem Vater, waren die, waren mal, kommen die halt her. Aber sonst fahren wir auch da hin, weil es sonst zu teuer für sie wird.

I: Wie lange dauert die Reise?

Alexander: Mit dem Zug dauert sie zwei Tage und zwei Nächte und mit'm Flugzeug dauert sie drei Stunden und dann ist man in Moskau und von Moskau fahren wir immer mit dem Zug, das ist ein Tag und eine Nacht.

I: Und da, ab wo fliegt man, ab Frankfurt?

Alexander: Nee. Berlin Schlegel. Nee, Schöne..

I: Schönefeld.

Alexander: Genau. Irgendwas mit S.

I: Wow, das ist eine lange Reise. Telefonieren Sie manchmal mit Russland?

A.: Ja, gestern habe ich mit meiner Oma telefoniert.

I: Spricht Ihr Vater Russisch?

Alexander: Er versucht es, er versucht es zu meiden [lacht]. Aber er, er kann sehr gut Russisch sprechen.

I: Das heißt er versteht Sie auch, wenn Sie sprechen?

Alexander: Ja, meine Mutter redet normalerweise mit meinem Vater Russisch und er antwortet auf Deutsch.

I: Und Sie reden mit Ihrer Mutter gemischt und mit Ihrem Vater?

Alexander: Deutsch. Nur Deutsch.

I: Nur Deutsch. Das heißt in Deutschland haben Sie die anderen Verwandten?

Alexander: Ja.

I: Könnten Sie sich vorstellen, mal in Russland zu leben?

Alexander: Kommt drauf an wie meine finanzielle Lage ist. Aber ich glaube, ich könnte damit sehr gut, ich könnte mich damit anfreunden.

I: Ja? Was heißt das mit der finanziellen Lage?

Alexander: Na ja, sagen wirs mal so. Wenn ich so, wenn ich jetzt so ungefähr die Hälfte zum Beispiel verdienen würde was mein Vater zur Zeit so ungefähr hier so verdient, dann wär ich, auf gut Deutsch, ein halber Multimillionär dort drüben.

I: Und das wär gut?

Alexander: [lacht] Ja, das wär sehr gut.

I: Also haben Sie mit dem Gedanken mal gespielt?

Alexander: Ja, ich hab schon mal damit gespielt, aber, aber dafür, aber dafür sind die Verhältnisse, die dort sind, halt Armut und alles, ist da zu großer Unterschied.

I: Wie würden Sie sich denn selbst beschreiben, als Deutscher, oder als halbdeutscher Russe, oder was?

Alexander: Ich würde mich so eher so halb Russisch sehen.

I: Halb Russisch?

Alexander: Ja, weil ich hab die Erziehung, meinen Vater seh ich halt kaum und ich hab halt die ganze Zeit meine Mutter und meine Mutter hat mir halt hat mich halt russisch erzogen.

I: Was heißt das, sie hat Sie russisch erzogen? Wo ist der Unterschied zu deutscher Erziehung?

Alexander: Naja, das kann man nicht so sagen, das ist so halt... das... das spürt man einfach nur in seiner Art und Weise, ich weiß jetzt nicht weil manche sagen, ja, das ist wieder typisch Russisch und so was und...

I: Was ist denn typisch Russisch?

Alexander: [Lacht]. Gut. Jetzt hab ich mich... jetzt hab ich mich in nen Konflikt geredet wo ich mich jetzt nicht [lacht]. Hmm. Typisch Russisch. Hmm [überlegt]. Ja, das ist [überlegt]. Überfragt! [Lacht].

I: Überfragt? Gibt es denn, oder, frag ich andersrum: Gibt es denn etwas typisch Deutsches?

Alexander: Na ja, die Gemeinschaft ist anders, sagen wir's mal so. Wenns... zu einander ist es anders. Wenn man zum Beispiel als Russe, wenn man, man kann halt zum, irgendwas, egal um was es geht, man kann Menschen, auch wenn es ein wildfremder Menschen auf der Straße ist, und das hab ich auch in Russland so mitgekriegt, wenn man da irgendjemanden nur anspricht auf Russisch und den um irgendetwas bittet, sei's nur um ein paar Streichhölzer, der wird's dir geben. Der wird nicht so sein dass er, „na, ich kenn dich doch gar nicht, wieso soll ich dir das geben.“ Oder wenn's so um irgendwelche Kleinigkeiten geht zum Beispiel wenn du, wenn du wirklich siehst, dass irgendjemand da hinkommt und dich fragt, könnte ich vielleicht was zum Essen haben, und du hast halt diese Sonnenblumenkerne, die's in Russland, die man in Russland pausenlos halt immer irgendwie in der Tasche hat [lacht], kramt man die raus und gibt die dem, wenn man. Das, das, das ist ne ganz andere Mentalität zum Beispiel zum Deutschen, wenn man ähm, ich möchte, ich möchte, das soll jetzt nicht beleidigend wirken, aber ich glaube der Großteil der Deutschen ist ziemlich geizig erzogen worden.

I: Das heißt Sie würden sagen, Ihre Mutter hat Sie großzügig erzogen?

Alexander: Ja, genau.

I: Und das ist typisch Russisch?

Alexander: Ja.

I: Das ist schon mal ein guter Punkt! Fällt Ihnen noch was ein?

Alexander: [Überlegt]. So spontan eher nicht.

I: Sie haben gesagt, Sie sind halb Deutsch, halb Russisch. Richtig?

Alexander: Ja.

I: Ist das gut so? Fühlen Sie sich wohl damit?

Alexander: Also, ich kann damit ziemlich gut leben, weil... weil, ich hab damit, ich hab von russischer Seite hab ich halt auch Vorteile wenn ich zum Beispiel, meine Klassenkameraden, da gibt's auch ein paar Russen und mit denen kann... wenn da irgendwas halt, es irgendwas gibt was der Lehrer nicht sofort mitbekommen soll, so was heißt n das, so erstmal auf Russisch und so, ja, hab ich. [Lacht]. Ohne dass irgendjemand was mitbekommt.

I: Also ist es gut so wegen der Sprache?

Alexander: Ja, hm [überlegt]. Wegen, ja, wegen der Sprache schon. Ja, ich finde die Sprache auch ziemlich schön, aber, aber andersrum...ich bin... ich bin auch genauso gut, ich bin auch genauso gern auch Deutscher. Aber das heißt ja nicht, das heißt ja nicht dass ich mich speziell auf Russisch so veranlagt hab. Ich bin halt in diesen Verhältnissen so geboren und ich akzeptiere sie so wie sie sind. Weil, ändern kann ich sie nicht.

I: Und wenn ich Sie vor ein paar Jahren gefragt hätte, wie sehen Sie sich, was hätten Sie da gesagt?

Alexander: Das Gleiche.

I: Und wenn ich in ein paar Jahren wiederkomme?

Alexander: Dann kommts darauf an ob ich vielleicht doch nach Russland gezogen bin oder nicht [lacht]. Ja.

I: Und wenn Sie nach Russland ziehen würden, wie...

Alexander: Dann würd ich mich wohl schon mehr zu russ... zum russischen Staat hingezogen fühlen.

I: Ja?

Alexander: Hmm [zustimmend]. Weil. Wenn wir grad so, Sie haben vorhin was von Freunden erzählt, meine besseren Freunde sind schon, also meine wichtigeren Freunde sind schon russischstämmig.

I: Wissen Sie das zufällig, sind das Aussiedler oder sind das...

Alexander: Ja, Aussiedler. Das, also, der, von Großeltern her sind das Aussiedler.

I: Und das sind Ihre meisten Freunde? Oder Ihre besten Freunde?

Alexander: Ja, das sind meine besten. Aber die meisten, na ja, das hält sich die Waage, Russisch, Deutsche.

I: Also haben Sie einen gemischten Freundeskreis?

Alexander: Ja.

I: Und treffen Sie sich auch gemischt oder treffen Sie sich ab- und zu mit den Deutschen...

Alexander: Nee, wir sind immer alle gemeinsam.

I: Immer alle gemeinsam- wie groß ist denn Ihre Clique?

Alexander: Ah, wir hatten letzten so, so ne richtig schöne Geburtstagsfeier, wo gleich vier Leute Geburtstag hatten und.. da waren, da waren 22 Leute, und die zähle ich eigentlich alle zu meinen guten Freunden.

I: Und das waren Deutsche und Aussiedler?

Alexander: Jaja, das waren Deutsche und Aussiedler. Und auch richtige russische, also Russen die dort, die nur hier irgendwie durch- weiß nicht, aus welchen Gründen sie hierher gezogen sind. Finanzielle Dinge oder so was, ich weiß nicht genau, aber auch so.

I: Und war das schon immer so, dass Sie einen gemischten Freundeskreis hatten, oder war das auch mal lastig zu einer Seite?

Alexander: Das war mal, so, Grundschule, ab Grundschule, also nach Grundschule hats... vor der Grundschule war's richtig Deutsch, und nach Grundschule war's halt gemischt.

I: Können Sie erklären, warum?

Alexander: Ich hab solche, ich hab halt Leute getroffen, mit denen ich mich halt sehr gut verstanden hab, da, hab halt Schule gewechselt, und hab dort halt Freundschaften gefunden und... als ich dann meine ersten, also, zu, ich hab sonst mit Leuten in meinem Alter nicht viel zu tun gehabt und so, die Russisch sprechen. Und als ich dann auf einmal was Russisches zu denen gesagt hab, haben die mich so angeguckt: „Wie, was, du kannst Russisch, du bist Deutsch! Du kannst Russisch? Wie das?“ Ja. Und seitdem. Das war halt der Punkt, seitdem ich mehr Freunde hab. Und dann auch natürlich Fußballverein.

I: Ich wollt auch grad fragen: Woher kennen Sie Ihre Freunde?

Alexander: Schule. Größtenteils Schule. Und Fußballverein. Und na ja was man halt als so Jugendlicher so macht, so gerne auch mal macht.

I: Ja das würde mich jetzt ja mal interessieren: Was machen Sie denn als Jugendlicher gerne so am Wochenende?

Alexander: [Lacht]. Naja, also, so, nach der Schule Freitagsbierchen [lacht].

I: Ein Freitagsbierchen oder mehrere Freitagsbierchen?

Alexander: Kann auch mal ein oder zwei sein.

I: Und das jeden Freitag?

Alexander: Nein, nicht jeden Freitag. Es kommt auch drauf an was, was gerade gemacht wird.

I: Und wo treffen Sie sich dann?

Alexander: Also treffen, also wir gehen öfters auch mal hier ins „PM“, das ist ne Diskothek. Dann gehen wir auch ab- und zu mal grillen. Schaschliks Essen. Und... ja, und sonst... Sonst suchen wir uns meistens irgend ne große Wiese wo wir alle Platz haben und das war's dann.

I: Und im Winter?

Alexander: Im Winter wird halt nicht viel gemacht.

I: Gehen Sie dann nach Hause oder was?

Alexander: Ja, dann gehen wir zu irgendjemandem der mal so sturmfrei hat, also. Sonst ist da nicht viel. Sonst, halt Diskotheken.

I: Und wenn Sie sich da am Freitag treffen auf der Wiese oder zum Biertrinken, wie auch immer, sind da Jungs und Mädchen gemischt?

Alexander: Ja, sind Jungs und Mädchen gemischt.

I: Und auch verschiedene Altersgruppen?

Alexander: Ja, so [nuschelt], so 15-19.

I: Und sprechen Sie da Deutsch?

Alexander: Gemischt. Gemischt halt. Zu den Leuten die halt kein Russisch können halt Deutsch und mit den anderen so wie sie halt mich ansprechen. Also wenn sie anfangen mit Russisch zu reden rede ich auch Russisch; wenn, wenn. Ist situationsbedingt und Laune bedingt. 'S so wie's gerade, wie's einem gerade die Wörter halt einfacher fallen in welcher Sprache.

I: Und was sagen die deutschen Freunde dazu, die verstehen das ja nicht.

Alexander: „Ja, könnt ihr mal Deutsch reden!“ so nach dem Motto, aber davon lassen wir uns dann nicht beirren. Also ist dann, das ist unsres Bier, das machen wir so wie... wie wir halt lustig sind. Und wir übersetzen das, wenn wir freundlich sind, auch mal, was wir sagen.

I: Ich wollte fragen, ob Sie das erkennen können, ob einer Ihrer Freunde Deutscher ist oder Russe.

Alexander: Wie soll man das erkennen? Ich weiß das. Wenn das ein Freund ist, dann weiß ich das [lacht].

I: Ok, wenn es Bekannte sind, wenn es Leute sind, die neu in die Schule kommen.

Alexander: Also, das kann man schon an Aussprache, Verhalten kann man das schon merken, wer... Verhalten. Halt so, wie sie sich halt rüber geben, so wie... so... wie halt diese bestimmte russische Art die nicht zu erklären ist! [Lacht].

I: Es wär so schön, wenn Sie mir das erklären könnten...Also, mir haben mal welche gesagt, dass man das an der Kleidung erkennt.

Alexander: Ja, das kann man auch an der Kleidung erkennen, aber... Ich kenn, so, das muss nicht unbedingt Kleidung sein weil, weil ich weiß nicht, ich mein, gut, meine Hausklamotten, ich weiß nicht, ob da irgendwie jemand Unterschied finden würde ob das Deutsch oder Russisch

ist... Aber wenn ich draußen rumlaufe- ok, ich hab auch ne Lederjacke, aber... ich hab genauso auch... ich weiß nicht, ob es typisch deutsche Klamotten gibt, das sind ganz normale Sachen, wie alle anderen auch.

I: Jetzt muss ich mal total doof fragen: Lederjacke wäre typisch für was?

Alexander: Wär für halt, für diese russische Art. Weil, na ja, keine Ahnung. Weil das halt so ist [lacht].

I: Also Russisch wär: Jungs tragen eher Lederjacke.

Alexander: Ja. Weil... Ja. Weil, russische Jungs in meinem Alter tragen eher Lederjacken als irgendwelche, ja, irgendwelche Deutsche wie irgendwie Deutsche.

I: Und deutsche Jungs in Ihrem Alter tragen eher was?

Alexander: Naja, so.. ich weiß nicht... normale Jacken- ich weiß nicht, wie man das beschreiben soll. So Sportjacken oder was weiß ich, so, so Daunenjacken oder so ähnliches eben. Aber halt... Lederjacken siehst Du halt nicht oft an einem deutschstämmigen Jungen.

I: Und bei den Mädchen, kann man da was an der Kleidung unterscheiden?

Alexander: [Überlegt] hmm. Na. Ich glaub eher nicht.

I: Also Sie könnten das nicht. Wenn ich Ihnen jetzt Fotos von drei Mädchen zeigen würde könnten Sie mir nicht sagen, dass ist ein Aussiedler und das nicht?

Alexander: Es kommt darauf an. Ich könnt es vielleicht doch am Gesicht erkennen.

I: Am Gesicht? Inwieweit? Wie kommt das?

Alexander: Das sieht man... [stottert], dass, dass sind solche Dinge die, die, die... sind.. die entstehen aus Gewohnheit wenn man halt, da kann man halt, hat man einen geschulten Blick darauf. Das, das ist [zögert] manchmal ist es nur ein Lächeln, dass das verrät, ob nun Deutsch oder Russisch. Aber, weil, das is, is so wie, wie, äh, wie zum Beispiel im Russischen: Alle Hähne sind doch gleich, oder, und im Deutschen macht der Hahn „Kikeriki“ und im Russischen macht er „Kuckeriku.“ Und da, das ist genauso wie das Lächeln. Das ist einfach- es ist gleich, aber wieder, hat wiederum Unterschiede.

I: Schön gesagt. Also, ich kann mir das so vorstellen: Wenn ich Amerikaner sehe dann denke ich auch: Ach ja, das erkenne ich sofort...

Alexander: Ja..

I: ...und, und ich weiß jetzt gar nicht warum, an der Baseballkappe vielleicht, aber ich wüsste das halt nicht mit den, mit den Aussiedlern. Das haben mir ein paar gesagt, dass sie einfach über die Straße gehen und können das erkennen.

Alexander: Das stimmt auch. Man kann das wirklich schnell erkennen. S sind manchmal... also, na ja gut, ich weiß es nicht. Hier in Lobeda fällt's mir eigentlich ziemlich einfach, weil... weil alle, die so etwas Russisch sind, mit denen grüßt man sich halt.

I: Und mit den Deutschen nicht?

Alexander: Naja, weil man die dann halt nicht, die kennt man nur flüchtig, so, vielleicht mal nur vom Sehen oder so. Aber trotzdem gibt man denen die Hand.

I: Das heißt, die Russischen kennen Sie eher als die Deutschen hier in der Nachbarschaft?

Alexander: Na, das würd ich nicht so sagen. Ich kenn sie, aber ... pfff, die grüßen einen selber nicht, also. Das ist halt so- das ist so [ironisch] *russische Mentalität, Freundlichkeit*, so einem gegenüber.

I: Ja super, dann haben wir ja jetzt schon richtig viele Beispiele gefunden!

Alexander: Genau.

I: Es kommt doch was...

Alexander: Es ist halt dieses Grüßen zum Beispiel untereinander. Auch wenn man, na ja, was heißt hier... wenn man mal mit nem Freund... wenn das der Freund vom Freund vom Freund vom Freund vom Freund, aber Du siehst halt: Ok, den hab ich doch schon mal gesehen. Und wenn der zufällig auf der gleichen Straßenseite oder auf gleichen Straße läuft, ein Finger hoch ma, gezeigt so: Jau, ich kenn dich, hallo! Oder... oder wenn er auf Deiner Seite ist so, Handschütteln, vielleicht noch so im Vorbeigehen: Wie geht's?

I: Und das machen Sie mit den Deutschen nicht, mit den Freunden von Freunden von Freunden?

Alexander: Nee, weil ich, die sieht man halt und, die laufen dann halt an einem stur dran vorbei. Das hab ich auch schon mehrmals gemerkt, wenn ich dann so „hallo“ sagen wollte, die gucken einen dann nur irgendwie so mit Fragezeichen im Gesicht an und... laufen weiter.

I: Das heißt Sie würden sagen, die Russen sind freundlicher?

Alexander: Würd ich nicht *ganz* so sagen.

I: Die entfernten Deutschen?

Alexander: Also, es gibt auch genug Leute die zwar älter, viel älter sind, also nicht so in meinem Bereich sind, vor denen ich schon leichte Angst habe, weil ich die eher mit irgendwie Kriminalität oder irgendwie was zusammenbringe durch Gerüchte und so was. Deswegen... würde ich nicht so sagen... würde ich das nicht so zutreffend sagen.

I: In welchem Alter sind die? Vor denen Sie so ein bisschen Angst haben?

Alexander: Na, die sind dann schon Anfang, Ende Zwanzig. Besser gesagt, Mitte Ende Zwanzig. Die Anfang Zwanzig, die... mit denen hatte ich mal was zu tun. Also so, ich hatte mal mit denen Kontakt halt. Freundesmäßig und weil meine beste Freundin- aber die ist Deutsch- die war halt mit nem, mit nem Russen der, jetzt müsste der Einundzwanzig sein, und von daher kannte ich die.

I: Ihre beste Freundin ist Deutsche?

Alexander: Ja.

I. Und Ihr bester Freund?

Alexander: Kasachstaner.

I: Kasache?

A: Ja.

I: Kann der Russisch?

Alexander: Der kann auch Russisch, aber, aber der tut sich richtig schwer. Er ist halt so mit fünf oder so hier hergekommen. Seine Mutter spricht... kann fließend perfekt Russisch sprechen, also, gut, was heißt n das, sie ist da aufgewachsen. Aber sie spricht halt sonst fließend Deutsch. Wirklich richtig fließend Deutsch. Ohne irgendwelche „aber“. Und sie spricht halt mit ihren Söhnen, es sind zwei, sind eigentlich meine besten Freunde. Ich kenn sie elf Jahre lang, seitdem sie hierher gezogen sind kenn ich die beiden halt. Einer ein Jahr jünger, der andere ein Jahr älter als ich, und...ja. Wo waren wir eigentlich stehen geblieben?

I: Ich hatte gefragt welche Nationalität Ihr bester Freund hat.

Alexander: Ja. Kasachstan.

I: Haben Sie Ihre beste Freundin noch?

Alexander: Ja.

I: Gibt's Schwierigkeiten manchmal zwischen Deutschen und Aussiedlern oder russischen Jugendlichen?

Alexander: [Überlegt]. Es kann dazu kommen, wenn... diese Deutschen besagten Jugendlichen, rechtsradikalen Jugendlichen... dann schon! Dann kann das dazu kommen.

I: Haben Sie das schon mal erlebt?

Alexander: Ja, vorm Impuls hab ich das schon mal erlebt. Deswegen haben sie's ja auch- das war auch einer der Gründe warum sie den zugemacht haben.

I: Was war da?

Alexander: Da gab's ne größere Schlägerei zwischen russischen Landsleuten und deutschen Faschisten. Also, Glatzen halt, die, die meinten, ja, sie müssten halt zu zwanzig einen, einen von denen, ich kannte die nicht, aber mussten den halt verkloppen, zu zwanzigst. [???]. Ja, da wurde irgendwie mal was ausgemacht, getroffen, und ich wusste davon nichts, ich bin trotzdem einfach zum Impuls gegangen weil damals konnte man noch nicht so, da war ich noch, ich glaube noch keine- da war ich noch nicht sechzehn? Nee, da war ich noch nicht sechzehn. Konntest nirgends woanders hingehen so außer Treffte, aber, ja, hast Dich halt gelangweilt – oh, meine Mama kommt gerade. Die kann dann auch gleich unterschreiben. Hallo Mamal [lacht].

[Begrüßung mit der Mutter. Sie lässt etwas fallen, und Alexander reagiert auf Russisch.]

I: Ich wollte noch fragen, ob es unterschiedliche Sachen gibt, die Sie mit Deutschen oder mit Aussiedlern machen.

Alexander: Nein.

[Nochmal Begrüßung mit der Mutter, die ins Wohnzimmer kommt].

I: Ja, also machen Sie alles gemeinsam oder gibt's ein paar Sachen wo Sie sagen, dass mache ich lieber mit Deutschen oder...

Alexander: Nein, eigentlich nicht. Eigentlich alles gemeinsam.

I: So, und jetzt hab ich noch ne letzte Frage und die ist ein bisschen schwierig. Und zwar hatten wir diesen Fragebogen verschickt und auch in die Schulen gebracht und so...

Alexander: Hmm [zustimmend].

I:...und das war ja so ein Rundumschlag, wo wir alles mögliche gefragt haben. Fällt Ihnen irgendetwas ein wo Sie sagen würden, das hätte ich gern in Lobeda, oder da finde ich, müsste sich die Situation verändern oder darüber ärgere ich mich?

Alexander: Was ich so gerne hätte, haben möchte?

I: Ja.

Alexander: Wär zum Beispiel so was wie ein Computer Café in Lobeda.

I: Ein Computer Café?

Alexander: Ja.

I: Also ein Internet Café.

Alexander: Genau. Das was es so in der Stadt gibt. Aber, 's ist, weil wenn man so in die Stadt fährt, dann braucht man erst mal einen Fahrschein, dann muss man auch noch Geld dann dort bezahlen. Das, das wär was, zum Beispiel, was mir noch fehlen würde.

I: Noch was?

Alexander: Hmm [überlegt]. Nee, sonst fällt mir eigentlich so spontan nix ein. Aber darüber hab ich nämlich grade nämlich vor kurzem erst mit meinen Freunden geredet, dass das ne Marktlücke hier in Lobeda wär [lacht].

I: Was stellen Sie sich denn beruflich vor?

Alexander: Sachen mit Informatik, wenn schon.

I: Sachen mit Informatik- also deswegen ist diese Sache mit dem Café auch ganz dringend? Das heißt, Sie wollen studieren?

Alexander: Ja.

I: Und machen Sie Abitur jetzt?

Alexander: Ja, ich mach mein Abitur.

I: Sie sind in der wievielten Klasse?

Alexander: In der Elften.

I: Und welche Schwerpunktfächer?

Alexander: Ähm, Mathe / Chemie.

I: Gibt's Informatik an der Schule?

Alexander: Ja.

I: Und seit welcher Klasse?

Alexander: Jetzt, Elfte.

I: Und dann, wenn Sie Informatiker werden und damit richtig viel Geld verdienen, würden Sie auch nach Russland gehen und ansonsten bleiben Sie in Deutschland?

Alexander: Es ist ne Überlegung wert, man, man weiß ja nicht, was die Zukunft bringt. Aber ich glaub nicht, dass meine Freundin zurzeit da mit möchte [lacht].

I: Ist das eine Deutsche?

Alexander: Ja, das ist eine Deutsche.

I: Spricht sie Russisch?

Alexander: Nö. Überhaupt nicht.

I: Gar nicht?

Alexander: Nein. Kein bisschen.

I: Woher kennen Sie die?

Alexander: Aus der Schule.

I: Aus der Schule. Und das heißt, wenn Sie Ihre Freundin heiraten, bleiben Sie hier?

Alexander: Ja.

I: Und auch in Jena oder weiß...

Alexander: Ja, das muss nicht sein. Weil Jena ist mir irgendwie zu hektisch.

I: Zu hektisch?!

Alexander: So dann, also jetzt, als Jugendlicher, find ich's ja richtig gut, aber dann so, ähm, im Alter, ich weiß es dann nicht. Nö, ich glaub, das wär mir dann zu stressig.

I: Dann wollen Sie aufs Land ziehen oder wie?

Alexander: Zum Beispiel. Wenn man dieses besagte Kleingeld hat.

I: Also Sie würden sich dann in einem kleinen Häuschen einschließen und Computerprogramme schreiben?

Alexander: Genau.

I: Aha. Das ist ne sehr schöne Idee. Ok. Gut, dann bin ich fertig und bedanke mich.

9.6.4.4 Irina, 17 Jahre: "Ich wollte halt immer die Deutsche sein"

Interview am 22.09.2004 mit Irina, 17 Jahre. Ihre Antworten im Fragebogen klassifizieren sie als „Deutsch-Russisch-Aussiedler“ in Bezug auf ihre ethnische Selbstbezeichnung. Irina wohnt mit ihrer Mutter in einer kleinen, gepflegten Wohnung im Plattenbauviertel. Sie ist in Sibirien geboren, einziges Kind einer deutschen Mutter und eines deutschen Vaters, zu dem sie keinen Kontakt hat und der nicht in Deutschland lebt. Mit in der Wohnung lebt noch „Mariechen“, ihre Katze. Sie spricht einwandfreies Deutsch mit einem rollenden „r“.

I: Ich wollte wissen, wo Sie denn geboren sind.

Irina: Krasnojarsk [???]. Das ist im tiefsten Sibirien. Meine Mutter kommt aus Russland eigentlich.

I: Und wann sind Sie denn nach Deutschland gekommen?

Irina: Das war 1997. Das heißt, ich war da zehn.

I: Und die Zeit davor haben sie dort oben im „tiefsten Sibirien“ gewohnt.

Irina: Ja.

I: Mit Ihren Eltern?

Irina: Mit meiner Mutter.

I: Ihre Mutter ist Russin oder Deutsche?

Irina: Sie ist Deutsche.

I: Sie ist Deutsche.

Irina: Ja, mein Vater auch, aber sind halt geschieden und er hat seine Familie und so.

I: Ist er auch nach Deutschland gekommen?

Irina: Nein, der ist in Russland.

I: Also Sie sind mit Ihrer Mutter...

Irina: Ja, mit meiner Mutter und dann noch meinen ganzen Tanten und Großeltern und so, die ganze Familie zusammen.

I: Wie viele waren Sie?

Irina: Wir waren etwa zwanzig, als wir gekommen sind, aber ich hab jetzt auch noch viele kleine Cousins und Cousinen bekommen und jetzt ist es schon einiges mehr.

I: Aber die sind dann in Deutschland geboren?

Irina: Ja. Sind alle hier.

I: Sind Sie gleich nach Jena gekommen?

Irina: Zuerst kommt man immer so in ein Zentrallager, das war irgendwo bei Hannover. Ich weiß jetzt nicht mehr, wie das heißt. Und dann Eisenberg- insgesamt waren wir zwei Monate, also einmal einen Monat da und einmal einen Monat da. Und dann nach Jena.

I: Ist die ganze Familie hier?

Irina: Hmm [zustimmend].

I: Alle? Alle ganzen zwanzig Mann?

Irina: Also die waren zuerst hier. Mein Onkel ist dann mal weggezogen wegen Beruf. Aber eigentlich alle zuerst in Jena.

I: Und jetzt wohnen Sie hier mit Ihrer Mutter.

Irina: Hmm [zustimmend].

I: Hat Ihre Mutter Arbeit hier?

Irina: Ja. Sie arbeitet in der Kastanienschule.

I: Also hier in der Nähe.

Irina: Ja, ist ganz nah eigentlich.

I: Und Sie gehen jetzt in welche Klasse?

Irina: Elfte.

I: Elfte. Können Sie sich erinnern wie das war, als Sie hierher gekommen sind?

Irina: Naja, ungewohnt. Man musste sich erst mal so, also, ich kannte die Sprache nicht besonders gut. So ein paar Sachen schon, aber ich habe mich eigentlich recht schnell eingelebt.

I: Was heißt das, Sie konnten die Sprache nicht gut- Sie konnten Sie ein bisschen?

Irina: Ich kannte, ich war mal, das ist schon länger her, da waren wir zu Besuch mit meiner Mutter in Deutschland für zwei Monate. Meine Mutter hat nämlich die ganze Zeit Briefkontakt zu einer Freundin aus Deutschland gehabt. Und hier habe ich dann eigentlich auch ein bisschen Deutsch gelernt. So, wie ich heiße und wie alt ich bin und so, Kleinigkeiten. Ja, und dann konnte ich aber nicht sonderlich viel. Und in der Schule war es ziemlich schwer, weil eigentlich kein Wort verstanden habe.

I: In welcher Klasse sind Sie gewesen?

Irina: Dritte.

I: Konnte Ihre Mutter Deutsch?

Irina: Ja. Meine Mutter war Deutschlehrerin in Russland.

I: Und können Sie sich erinnern, ob Sie nach Deutschland kommen wollten?

Irina: Na ja, eigentlich schon.

I: Ja?

Irina: Ich wollte es dann... ganz kurz vor der Abreise war es schwer, die ganzen Freunde zu verlassen, aber... es war, ich fand das ganz spannend.

I: Und warum, warum wollten Sie kommen?

Irina: Na ja, meine Mutter hat mir immer so das Leben hier ausgemalt, dass das hier viel besser ist und dass ich hier viel mehr Spielzeug kriege als damals. Und da war ich eigentlich ganz glücklich und wollte das ganze Spielzeug sehen, was es hier gab.

I: Und, hat das gestimmt?

Irina: Ja, eigentlich schon.

I: Hat Sie Ihnen noch was erzählt, außer, dass das Spielzeug toll wär?

Irina: Na ja, eigentlich dass das Leben hier besser ist. Und, ja, vor allem, das war eigentlich, das ganze Leben sollte hier besser sein als dort. Und na ja, für mich als Kind waren eigentlich solche ganzen Dinge nicht so wichtig, außer das Spielzeug und so was.

I: Und als Sie dann hierher kamen, haben Sie vorhin gesagt, das war zuerst ein Schock.

Irina: Na ja, es war kein Schock. Es hatte, ich hatte halt nur Probleme wegen der Sprache und.. aber ich hab dann eigentlich recht schnell Freunde gefunden und es war, also, erst auch alles Russen. Und dann, als ich die Sprache so ein bisschen gelernt hab, so nach ungefähr einem Jahr, das hat eigentlich recht schnell geklappt, da hab ich dann auch deutsche Freunde gehabt aus der Schule und dann hab ich mich eigentlich recht gut, also richtig wohl gefühlt.

I: Also so nach einem Jahr.

Irina: Na ja, ich hab mich eigentlich von Anfang an wohl gefühlt, aber dann hatte ich auch irgendwann deutsche Freunde und das ging dann eigentlich noch besser.

I: Zu den Freunden wollte ich Sie später noch mal was fragen. Das heißt, Sie besitzen den deutschen Pass?

Irina: Ja.

I: Auch den Russischen?

Irina: Nein.

I: Haben Sie den mal gehabt?

Irina: Also, in Russland, da hatte ich so einen Kinderausweis.

I: Und, wir hatten in diesem Fragebogen so eine Frage drin, das hieß.. würden Sie selber sagen, Sie sind Aussiedler?

Irina: Ja.

I: Ja?

Irina: Ich war... in Russland war ich dann ja eigentlich Deutsche. Das heißt, ich war in Russland Ausländer. Deswegen. Beide Eltern sind beide Deutsche.

I: Und, was bedeutet denn das, wenn Sie jemand fragt und Sie sagen, ich bin Aussiedler, was bedeutet das für Sie?

Irina: [Überlegt]. Für mich eigentlich jetzt persönlich macht das keinen großen Unterschied. Weil mir das eigentlich relativ egal ist was die Menschen, also, wo die Menschen herkommen. Aber ich weiß jetzt noch nicht genau ob das irgendwie rechtlich für mich irgendwelche Nachteile gibt. Also, bis jetzt habe ich nichts mitbekommen.

I: Und wenn ich Sie ungefähr fragen würde, sind Sie Russin?

Irina: Ja, ich bin dort geboren, also fühl ich mich irgendwo auch so. S... ich hab da zehn Jahre meines Lebens verbracht und da... eigentlich schon.

I: Können Sie das erklären was das bedeutet, Russin zu sein?

Irina: [Überlegt]. Ja, für mich ist eigentlich außer dass ich dort geboren bin und mein Vater noch dort lebt hab ich eigentlich keinen richtigen Bezug zu diesem Land.

I: Haben Sie keinen Kontakt mehr dorthin?

Irina: Nein, eigentlich... ich hab noch eine Freundin zu der ich gelegentlich, also, Briefe schreibe, aber eigentlich, es ist also auch ziemlich abgeflacht. So einmal im Jahr kriege ich so einen Brief von ihr und schreib zurück, und das war's eigentlich auch schon.

I: Und auf Russisch dann immer?

Irina: Ja. Das ist ziemlich schwer, aber ich krieg das meisten so hin.

I: Haben Sie noch Kontakt zu Ihrem Vater?

Irina: Nein.

I: Telefonieren Sie manchmal noch mit Verwandten oder Freunden in Russland?

Irina: Ja, mit meiner Freundin, die rufe ich immer an ihrem Geburtstag an.

I: Und dann sprechen Sie auf Russisch?

Irina: Ja.

I: Wie geht das mit dem Russisch?

Irina: Also ich kann, sprechen kann ich, also, hab ich absolut keine Probleme. Aber ich hab Probleme was das Schreiben angeht weil ich immer die Buchstaben verwechsle und die ganze Grammatik verlernt hab.

I: Und Sprechen, sagen Sie, können Sie gut.

Irina: Ja, das geht ganz gut.

I: Haben Sie einen Akzent, wenn Sie reden?

Irina: Nein. Ich hab bis jetzt nichts gehört, dass ich einen haben sollte.

I: Welche Sprache sprechen Sie denn so zu Hause?

Irina: Meistens Russisch, aber, also, als ich so 13, 14 war, habe ich nur Deutsch geredet, weil ich mich da vollkommen als Deutsche gefühlt habe. Ja, und dann irgendwann, als ich dann etwas älter geworden bin, dann eigentlich auch Russisch. So teils-teils, situationsabhängig.

I: Sie haben eben gesagt, dass Sie sich mit 13 sehr Deutsch gefühlt haben- wie kommt das?

Irina: Ja, ich hatte so mit 13, hatte ich irgendwie nur deutsche Freunde. Also, alle in meinem Umfeld waren Deutsche und ich wollte halt immer die Deutsche sein. Ja, und ich war auch nicht so glücklich darüber, dass ich in Russland geboren bin. Ich weiß nicht, das war so irgendwie, so ein Tick. Aber das hat dann, so mit 15 war's dann weg.

I: Also Sie hatten zwei Jahre lang das Bedürfnis, nur Deutsche zu sein?

Irina: Ja, so ungefähr.

I: Und woran lag das?

Irina: Ich weiß nicht. Ich denk mal, das lag eigentlich an den Leuten. Wie gesagt, ich hatte halt überhaupt keinen Bezug zu irgendwelchen Russen, außer meiner Familie. Dann, irgendwann später, habe ich auch russische Freunde gehabt. Also, hab ich jetzt immer noch. Und, ja, jetzt sag ich auch wieder, ich bin in Russland geboren, aber früher war es für mich ein bisschen komisch zu sagen.

I: Sie sagen, dass das mit 15 dann aufgehört hat, dass Sie sich nur Deutsch fühlen wollten. Wie kam das, dass das aufgehört hat?

Irina: Wir sind als ich 15 war, sind wir nach Russland geflogen. Und, also, als wir den Flug gebucht haben, das war so, da bin ich grad 15 geworden. Und, ja. Da hab ich so langsam versucht, mich darauf vorzubereiten dass ich da wieder hin fahre. Und irgendwie hab ich dann wieder akzeptiert, dass. Und als ich dann, also, zurück gekommen bin, hab ich halt doch gemerkt dass es ziemlich blödsinnig dass irgendwie also meine Herkunft irgendwie abzustreiten oder so, das ist...

I: Sind Sie da wieder an Ihren Geburtsort geflogen?

Irina: Ja.

I: Mit Ihrer Mutter oder mit wem?

Irina: Mit meiner Mutter und dann noch ein paar Freunden von ihr, die auch von dort kommen.

I: Und dann sind Sie einen Monat da gewesen?

Irina: Ja.

I: Und wie war das?

Irina: Also, es war, die Lebensbedingungen ein bisschen hart, sich daran zu gewöhnen. Es gab ja keine, so Dusche wie hier zum Beispiel, sondern nur so eine Art Sauna wo man sich dann immer waschen musste, aus so einem komischen Wassereimer und so was. Das war ziemlich hart, und das Wasser musste man erst heiß machen so was und- ok. Aber außer dem wars soweit eigentlich ganz gut. Ich hab mich da auch gut verstanden, also eigentlich schnell mich mit neuen alten Schulfreunden wieder ganz gut verstanden und da- es war eigentlich ganz schön. Ich wollte nachher auch... hatte Probleme, da wieder weg zu fahren, weil ich mich da eigentlich an die Leute so gewöhnt habe. Also.

I: Wollen Sie denn da wieder hin?

Irina: Ja, wollen, irgendwann mal. Also, nächstes Jahr wahrscheinlich nicht, aber so in zwei, drei Jahren vielleicht mal. So. Ist doch ziemlich teuer, der Flug.

I: Wo fliegen Sie da hin?

Irina: Wir fliegen von Frankfurt sind wir geflogen bis St. Petersburg, und dann richtig bis Krasnojarsk [???].

I: Ne lange Reise.

Irina: Naja, bis St. Petersburg sind es zwei Stunden, und dann sechs bis sieben. Das ist dann ziemlich hart.

I: Als Sie dann mit 15 da waren- haben Sie jetzt noch Kontakt mit Freunden die Sie dort getroffen haben, oder ist es nur diese eine?

Irina: Ja, ist nur diese eine Freundin mit der ich eigentlich die ganzen Jahre Kontakt hatte. Ich hatte kurz, also, nachdem wir zurück gekommen sind hier nach Deutschland, hatte ich dann noch ein Jahr lang Kontakt zu einem Freund von mir, mit dem ich auch dort in der Schule war. Und dann ist aber irgendwie auch wieder verflogen, keine Ahnung. Er hatte mir nicht mehr geschrieben, da hab ich's auch sein lassen.

I: Also, wenn ich vor drei Jahren ungefähr hierher gekommen wäre, als Sie 14 waren, dann hätten Sie gesagt, Sie sind Deutsche?

Irina: Ja, ich denke. Also, ich hätt' zwar gesagt, dass ich in Russland geboren bin, aber ich hätte wahrscheinlich eher gesagt, dass ich Deutsche bin.

I: Und wenn ich Sie jetzt frage?

Irina: Also, eigentlich rein rechtlich bin ich Deutsche. Aber ich bin halt in Russland geboren und ich steh auch dazu.

I: Und wie würden Sie das dann auf so ner Schiene sagen, haben Sie ein Stück Russisch und ein Stück Deutsch, oder nur Russisch, oder wie?

Irina: Na, ich würd so sagen, ich denk mal so ein paar Charaktereigenschaften die man mir so beigebracht hat, also, als ich noch in Russland war, denke ich, habe ich immer noch und ansonsten- ich hab mich eigentlich hier ganz gut integriert, hier in Deutschland. Also, ich hab durch meine deutschen Freunde, hab ich eigentlich auch ziemlich viele Eigenschaften von ihnen gelernt. Teils-teils würde ich sagen.

I: Teils-Teils.

Irina: Hmm [zustimmend].

I: Sagen Sie mir doch mal, was Sie meinen mit diesen russischen Eigenschaften, was fällt Ihnen da ein, was ist Ihnen da beigebracht worden?

Irina: Also, ich weiß nicht, mir fällt jetzt eigentlich nur zum Beispiel die Ordnung ein. Also, die meisten meiner deutschen Freunde sind ziemlich unordentlich- also nicht alle, aber die meisten und... mir wurde immer als Kind schon eingetrichtert, dass Ordnung immer so das Wichtigste im Leben, deswegen versuche ich eigentlich immer so Ordnung zu halten obwohl ich in letzter Zeit eigentlich auch schon ziemlich, so nachlässiger mit so Sachen. Oder... na ja, ich weiß nicht

so. Eigentlich, so Sachen wie Toleranz wird eigentlich jedem beigebracht. Obwohl dass in irgendwie in Russland eben noch extremer- also, zumindest hat mir meine Mutter eingebläut, dass man immer nett zu allen sein soll und so weiter. Und, wobei hier die Deutschen, meine ganzen deutschen Freunde, der Meinung sind, dass man, also, die Meinung sagen sollte. Das ist, deswegen, mir das auch immer so, also, manchmal sag ich richtig die Meinung und manchmal nicht.

I: Also eine deutsche Eigenschaft wäre, die Meinung zu sagen...

Irina: Ja.

I: ...und eine russische wäre mehr Toleranz?

Irina: Irgendwie ja.

I: Fällt Ihnen noch mehr ein?

Irina: Müsst ich jetzt nachdenken. Also, das sind halt so ein paar Kleinigkeiten eigentlich. Ich weiß nicht. Im Grunde... man merkt halt manchmal doch bei irgendwelchen Gesprächen oder so fällt mir halt doch manchmal auf, dass zum Beispiel Russen anders denken, irgendwelche Sachen.

I: Zum Beispiel?

Irina: Ein Beispiel fällt mir jetzt nicht ein, aber das ist schon oft so gewesen. Oder wenn ich manchmal Kontakt, also, wenn ich mit meinen Cousinen und Cousins rede, dann ist, dass mir dann oft einfällt, dass ich so die Meinungen eigentlich vertrete, die eigentlich so meine Freundinnen haben würden, und nicht die, die jetzt eigentlich aus Russland kommen. Das ist mir schon ziemlich oft so passiert.

I: Dass heißt, dass Sie dann mehr deutsche Meinungen vertreten?

Irina: Also meistens ist es so, dass ich wenn ich mit Familienmitgliedern diskutiere, dass ich dann irgendwie also, die deutsche Meinung vertrete. Und bei, wenn ich halt mit meinen Freunden unterwegs bin, es dann doch irgendwie, also, da ist dann irgendwie teil-teil. Dann doch irgendwo auf die russische Seite.

I: Und deutsche Eigenschaften, haben Sie gesagt, habe Sie auch welche.

Irina: Hmm [überlegt]. Ja, sind- also, so spontan fällt mir jetzt nichts ein, aber sind, also, zum Beispiel Musikgeschmack würde mir jetzt so einfallen. Also, die meisten Russen, die hören russische Musik. Ich zum Beispiel überhaupt nicht. Und, ja. Das wäre so ein Teil. Und dann auch so, so Kleidung. Gefällt mir zum Beispiel die Kleidung von sehr vielen Russen nicht so unbedingt. Das ist nicht so, was mir persönlich gefällt. Aber, so konkret, so Charaktereigenschaften jetzt nicht so.

I: Wie unterscheidet sich denn die Kleidung?

Irina: Also, die meisten, also, ich red von den meisten, nicht allen, die meisten Russen sind eher so, mehr so figurbetont und immer sehr modisch, immer perfekt gestylt und so, also, die Russinnen. Ich bin da eigentlich eher so, eher lässig, also, ich zieh das an, was mir grad so passt, was bequem ist und ich bin da nicht so, also zum Beispiel ich trag auch absolut keine hohen Schuhe. Das ist eigentlich, außer mir tut's eigentlich glaub ich keine so von den Russinnen. Also, die meisten haben hohe Absatzschuhe. Ich bin, glaube ich, eine der wenigen, die immer mit Sportschuhen rumlaufen. So, solche Sachen, aber...

I: Können Sie, denn- also, mir wurde mal gesagt, dass jemand andere Aussiedler auf der Straße erkennen kann- können Sie das auch?

Irina: Ja. Also, ich weiß nicht, das merkt man. Also, wenn nicht an der Kleidung, dann irgendwie an, so an Verhaltensweisen, also, Sprache ist, denke ich mal, merken auch Deutsche, aber... ich merk's eigentlich immer.

I: Können Sie erklären, woran?

Irina: Ich weiß nicht, also meistens merkt man das an der Kleidung. Aber-

I: Auch bei den Männern?

Irina: Ja.

I: Wie unterscheidet sich die Männerkleidung?

Irina: Ich weiß nicht, so, meistens sind die meisten, sie haben immer ein Hemd und die Hose, und dann vielleicht Lederjacke ist so ganz typisch- obwohl das auch nicht alle haben. Ja, also vielleicht noch so ne richtig dicke Goldkette, was ich persönlich nicht so toll finde, aber... Und dann meistens auch so am Verhalten weil, ich weiß nicht, die meisten verhalten sich dann immer so ganz anders, ich weiß nicht, ich kann das nicht so beschreiben, aber das merkt man, ich weiß nicht so genau.

I: Merken Sie das nur bei Jugendlichen oder merken Sie das auch bei Erwachsenen?

Irina: Auch bei Erwachsenen merk ich das deutlich.

I: Warum?

Irina: Na ja, weil die Erwachsenen meistens schon so eine eingefahrene Linie drin haben, wie sie sich kleiden und so und, bei Jugendlichen ist es dann doch schwieriger. Weil, viele kleiden sich dann doch ähnlich wie Deutsche, auch wenn es nicht ganz so ist.

I: Wie ist das mit der Schminke; mir wurde auch mal erzählt, dass man an der Schminke die Deutschen und die Russen...

Irina: Schminke weiß ich jetzt nicht so. Also, ich, ist eigentlich unterschiedlich. Es gibt Russen, die schminken sich ganz wenig, und manche schminken sich so, dass man das Gesicht eigentlich kaum noch sieht. Und bei Deutschen ist eigentlich, ist eigentlich auch so. Es kommt darauf an, wie man das macht. Also, an der Schminke, weiß ich jetzt nicht.

I: Sie haben vorhin gesagt, Sie sind so teils-teils, teils Deutsche, teils Russin. Haben Sie da schon manchmal drüber nachgedacht, also, ist das eine wichtige Frage für Sie?

Irina: Für mich ist es eigentlich egal. Also, für mich persönlich. Ist mir, also, ich weiß nicht, ich steh dazu, dass ich aus Russland komme, und ich hab eigentlich auch Freunde, also, mein Freundeskreis ist auch so Hälfte-Hälfte. Ich hab auch russische und deutsche Freunde, und das ist mir eigentlich im Moment recht egal. Es kann zwar manchmal ganz positiv sein, so in der Schule, wenn man sich da auf Russisch irgendwelche Lösungen in den Arbeiten zuflüstert, aber ansonsten ist es eigentlich recht egal.

I: Sie haben vorhin gesagt, wenn ich vor ein paar Jahren gekommen wäre hätten Sie gesagt, dass Sie Deutsche sind. Und, wenn ich in zwei Jahren kommen würde, was würden Sie dann sagen?

Irina: Ich denke, da wird sich jetzt nicht viel ändern.

I: Also, Sie bleiben jetzt so?

Irina: Ich denk schon.

I: Woran liegt das, dass Sie jetzt wieder halb Russin, halb Deutsche sind und nicht ehr nur Deutsch?

Irina: Ich weiß nicht, also ich denk mal dass ich mir halt deutsche Eigenschaften angeeignet habe, kann ich jetzt auch nicht mehr wegpacken und russische, weiß nicht, ich hab dann irgendwann begriffen, dass es sinnlos ist, das da abzudecken zu versuchen, es irgendwie anders zu machen, als es ist. Also, dass ich das immer abgestritten hab zum Beispiel, dass ich aus Russland komme, das ist mir, weiß nicht. Bin halt so wie ich bin, und damit soll man klar kommen.

I: Werden Sie dazu viel gefragt?

Irina: Eigentlich nicht.

I: Gar nicht?

Irina: Ich werd gelegentlich, werd ich gefragt, weil ich ja doch einen Akzent hab, werd ich gefragt, wo ich herkomme. Und das sag ich dann. Und ansonsten, also. Also, mich hat noch nie irgendjemand so richtig ausgefragt. Gelegentlich werden Fragen gestellt, wie es dort war, das Leben, aber, so was erzähl ich dann schon.

I: Denken Sie da manchmal drüber nach?

Irina: Eigentlich nicht.

I: Also spielt es keine Rolle.

Irina: Hmm [zustimmend].

I: Wenn Sie sich das aussuchen könnten- Sie haben jetzt gesagt, Sie sind halb- halb, und denken auch, dass das so bleibt- ist das gut so?

Irina: Ja. Ich find's eigentlich ganz positiv. Es ist so. Also, ich würd's auch nicht richtig toll finden, wenn ich richtig Deutsche wäre und, also, ich find's so wie es jetzt ist, ganz gut. Und nach Russland zurück will ich jetzt auch nicht mehr.

I: Wollen Sie nicht mehr? Können Sie sich nicht vorstellen? Also Sie möchten hier in Deutschland bleiben?

Irina: Ja, also ich weiß nicht, ob ich hier in Deutschland bleibe, aber auf keinen Fall nach Russland zurück.

I: Warum?

Irina: Naja, also es ist, erstens also wegen dem Lebensstandard. Da braucht man entweder eine gewisse materielle Voraussetzung, und wenn man die nicht hat, hat man halt Probleme. Und... ja, auch das Leben dort. Also, sobald du... sind... also, ich hab mich da ganz wohl gefühlt zum Beispiel vor zwei Jahren, aber nicht so, dass ich dort leben könnte.

I: Wie stellen Sie sich das vor in Ihrer Zukunft, also, vielleicht in Deutschland bleiben?

Irina: Ja, vielleicht in Deutschland, also, wahrscheinlich in Deutschland. Aber wie es zurzeit hier so aussieht, auch politisch, das wird ja immer alles gekürzt, also, sieht ziemlich schlecht aus. Also, ich könnte mir auch vorstellen irgendwo anders hinzugehen, vielleicht England oder... ich weiß nicht, irgend so was. Ja, England, Irland. Also, irgend so ein englischsprachiges Land.

I: Sprechen Sie gut Englisch?

Irina: Ja, eigentlich schon.

I: Machen Sie Abitur jetzt?

Irina: Ja.

I: Haben Sie schon Leistungskurse?

Irina: Ja, Deutsch- Englisch.

I: Deutsch-Englisch. Und, wissen Sie schon, was Sie mal machen wollen?

Irina: Also ich hab, denk ich, so nen Traum mal Psychologin zu werden. Aber man braucht auch gewisse, also, gute Noten. Ja, und ich bin eigentlich ziemlich faul, was das angeht. Also, ich geb mir Mühe, aber ob ich das schaff, weiß ich nicht.

I: Naja, aber man kann ja auch übers Nachrückverfahren und übers Losverfahren- und Sie haben ja auch noch zwei Jahre.

Irina: Ja, noch hab ich ja Zeit. Ich muss mich dann genau informieren wie es dann läuft.

I: Und würden Sie, wenn Sie in Deutschland bleiben, würden Sie dann in Jena bleiben wollen?

Irina: Als, ich hab gehört in Jena kann man ganz gut Psychologie studieren. Das wäre eigentlich- ich denk mal, wenn ich in Jena bleibe, also, Quatsch, in Deutschland bleibe, würde ich gerne in Jena bleiben. Ich mag die Stadt. Also, ich bin eigentlich auch nicht abgeneigt, irgendwo anders hinzufahren.

I: Aber Ihre Familie ist in Jena.

Irina: Hmm-hmm [zustimmend].

I: Dann wollte ich fragen: Wussten Sie – das ist die letzte Frage zu dem Thema- wussten Sie, als Sie zehn Jahre alt waren und hier her gekommen sind, hatten Sie da irgendwelche Vorstellungen von den Deutschen, wie die Deutschen so wären und was sie denken würden?

Irina: Also, ich, ich hatte ein bisschen, also, wie gesagt, als ich kleiner war, sind wir für zwei Monate nach Deutschland gekommen sind, da hatte ich dann so ne gewisse Vorstellung, aber ich war, das konnte ich nicht verallgemeinern. Ich kannte nur so ein paar Leute und, ich hab mich eigentlich, also, ich hab mich gut verstanden. Ich hatte wirklich nur Probleme mit der deutschen Sprache. Obwohl, die ganzen Kinder, die waren ja auch nett und die haben uns auch immer eingeladen da mitzuspielen bei irgendwas. Wir haben uns halt mit Händen und Füßen verständigt. Aber, mit der Sprache das hat das anfangs ziemlich Probleme gegeben.

I: Haben Sie einen Sprachkurs gemacht?

Irina: Ja, das mussten wir.

I: War der gut?

Irina: Hmm, ja, aber ich denk mal, das meiste habe ich eigentlich eher durch den Umgang mit anderen Kindern gelernt und nicht in dem Sprachkurs. Also, die Grammatik hat mir dort nicht so wirklich viel gebracht.

I: Gut. Dann habe ich noch ein paar Fragen zum Thema Freundschaften. Also, Sie haben gesagt, Sie haben jetzt einen gemischten Freundeskreis, da sind Deutsche drin und Russen. Ist das so halb-halb, oder wie ist das?

Irina: Hmm ja, ich würde sagen schon. Also, sind zum größten Teil Leute aus meiner Schule. Das sind eigentlich auch Russen und Deutsche. Und dann noch außerhalb von meinem Freundeskreis, das ist eigentlich gemischt. Ich würde es halbe-halbe sagen.

I: Sind das Aussiedler dann auch oder sind das russische Ausländer?

Irina: Also, dass weiß ich jetzt nicht so genau. Ich weiß, dass viele von ihnen sind Ausländer. Und ich denke mal, einige sind bestimmt auch Aussiedler. Genau weiß ich das nicht.

I: Sprechen Sie da nicht drüber?

Irina: Nee, das interessiert mich nicht wirklich.

I: Wird nicht drüber gesprochen?

Irina: Nee, wenn ich weiß, dass die aus Russland kommen reicht mir das eigentlich vollkommen.

I: Welche Sprache sprechen Sie denn in Ihrem Freundeskreis?

Irina: Also eigentlich Deutsch. Wenn Deutsche dabei sind, dann Deutsch, damit sie auch was verstehen. Und wenn's halt nur Russen sind, dann reden wir gelegentlich auch Russisch. Aber

viele können halt nicht mehr so gut Russisch sprechen, weil sie halt schon lange hier sind und es sprechen auch viele Deutsch. Aber ich hab auch einige, mit denen sprech ich Russisch.

I: Und was machen Sie so, wenn Sie zusammen mit Ihren Freunden sind?

Irina: Das ist ganz unterschiedlich. Billard spielen oder ins Kino. Oder auch abends irgendwie mal weg in die Kneipe oder so was. Das ist, also, so.

I: Sind das Jungs und Mädchen in Ihrer Gruppe?

Irina: Ja.

I: Und Sie sagen, die meisten kennen Sie aus der Schule?

Irina: Ja, viele.

I: Und die anderen, woher kennen Sie die?

Irina: Naja, einige kenne ich wiederum durch Freunde aus meiner Schule. Die kennen sich aus der Grundschule oder sonst wo über irgendwelche Verwicklungen. Manche habe ich einfach mal irgendwann kennen gelernt, so im Laufe der Zeit. Mit denen ich noch guten Kontakt habe. Na, so dann, sind so Verwicklungen, ist ganz unterschiedlich.

I: Sind Sie in irgendeinem Verein, irgendeinem Sportverein oder Musik oder...

Irina: Nein.

I: ... Malen oder Tanzen oder irgendwas?

Irina: Ich war mal Tanzen, das war früher, aber jetzt nicht mehr.

I: Was sind denn Ihre Hobbies?

Irina: Also, ich fahr gern Fahrrad.

I: Hier die Hügel hoch?

Irina: Hügel weniger [lacht]. Die geraden Strecken. Nein, lesen. Ich mach sehr viel mit Freunden. [Überlegt]. Früher halt Tanzen, aber jetzt halt auch nicht mehr. Ja, Zeichnen. Das wars eigentlich.

I: Haben Sie eine beste Freundin?

Irina: Ja.

I: Ist das ne Deutsche oder eine Aussiedlerin?

Irina: Deutsche.

I: Das ist eine Deutsche.

Irina: Hmm [zustimmend].

I: Haben Sie einen besten Freund?

Irina: Ja, zwei. Sind beides Russen.

I: Sind beides Russen?

Irina: Ja.

I: Haben Sie einen Freund?

Irina: Ja, das ist ein Deutscher.

I: Das ist ein Deutscher wieder. Ist das Zufall, dass das so gemischt ist?

Irina: Ja, das ist Zufall. Das, also, meine beiden besten Freunde kenne ich schon seit der Grundschule. Und, ja, meine Freundin seit der 5. Klasse, seit ich da herkam, also, an diese Schule. Haben wir uns kennen gelernt. Und... meinen Freund habe ich auch einfach so irgendwann kennen gelernt. Ist auch so- also, das war jetzt nicht irgendwo gesucht. Mehr Zufall.

I: Hatten Sie auch mal einen Aussiedler als Freund oder könnten Sie sich das vorstellen?

Irina: Ja, ich hatte mal einen.

I: Macht das einen Unterschied?

Irina: [Überlegt]. Ähm, ich denk mal, das ist personenbezogen. Also, es sind zwei vollkommen unterschiedliche, aber ich denk mal, also, es ist doch ein gewisser Unterschied, also, grad da.

I: Ja?

Irina: Ich weiß nicht, mein deutscher Freund ist zum Beispiel viel, irgendwie aufgeschlossener, ist also auch total spontan und kann auch mal Sachen machen, die jetzt nicht so üblich sind. Aber... zum Beispiel mein russischer Freund damals, wars irgendwie, da musste irgendwie jeder Schritt geplant werden und sobald mal irgendwas war was nicht so gut ist wars dann wieder nein, und die Eltern fragen und, ja, das fand ich echt langweilig.

I: Lag das an ihm oder lag das an der russischen Herkunft?

Irina: Ich denk mal beides.

I: Beides. Also, ein Deutscher wäre spontaner?

Irina: Also ich denk mal nicht, ich kann auch nicht sagen alle, aber ich denke mal zum Teil schon. Also mein russischer Freund hat halt auch zu viel Angst vor den ganzen Konsequenzen, die da kommen könnten. So nein, die Eltern könnten das erfahren und das wär schlimm und so was. Und irgendwie, mein deutscher Freund ist da viel lockerer drauf, also, der macht sich da nicht so viele Sorgen darüber.

I: Wie findet ihre Mutter das?

Irina: Meine Mutter ist da, ihr ist das eigentlich vollkommen egal. Sie konnte beide gut leiden.

I: Also ist es, Sie sagen, Sie können sich auch beides vorstellen?

Irina: Ja. Genau. Es könnte auch irgendwie ein Engländer sein oder... ist eigentlich vollkommen egal.

I: Wir hatten ja diesen Fragebogen mit vielen Fragen, und, gibt es irgendetwas wo Sie sagen, das fehlt hier in meinem Leben, das ist etwas, wo die Politiker oder die Wissenschaftler oder die Lehrer oder irgendjemand ändern könnte oder besser machen könnte?

Irina: [Überlegt]. Also so würde mir jetzt erst mal nichts einfallen. Also höchstens, nun ja, das betrifft jetzt nicht nur mich, sondern, es müsste irgendwie mehr Freizeitmöglichkeiten geben. Vor allem hier in Lobeda.

I: Zum Beispiel?

Irina: Also, hier in Lobeda ist es eigentlich so, dass es überhaupt nichts gibt, was man jetzt abends machen könnte. Also abends treffen muss man jedes Mal in die Stadt fahren und das wiederum, also, Straßenbahnkosten und so. In Lobeda gibt es eigentlich überhaupt nichts, was man hier jetzt wirklich machen könnte. Das würde mir fehlen, aber so, eigentlich, weiß ich nicht ob mir was fehlen würde.

I: Also wenn Sie sich mit Ihren Freunden treffen, fahren Sie meistens in die Stadt?

Irina: Ja. Was anders bleibt uns ja nicht übrig.

I: Zu Hause oder so treffen Sie sich nicht?

Irina: Ja, gelegentlich zu Hause. Aber wir sind ziemlich viele. Das ist dann doch jedes Mal in so ner Wohnung- haben auch die Eltern ein Problem damit.

I: Sprengen Sie die Wohnung.

Irina: Ja, so, selbst wenn wir dann rumsitzen, es sind dann doch ziemlich viele, es sind meistens mindestens zehn Leute.

I: Mit denen Sie was unternehmen? Wie oft treffen Sie sich so?

Irina: Na, so, mindestens alle zwei Wochen mindestens, und dann kommt noch drauf an, ist Geburtstag oder so was ist. Früher habe ich immer eigentlich so jede Woche was mit ihnen gemacht, jetzt auch wegen meinem Freund habe ich ja nicht mehr so viel Zeit.

I: Und was machen Sie dann so abends?

I.: Ja, jetzt am Wochenende?

I: Oder auch wochentags?

Irina: Wochentags bin ich meistens zu Hause. Aber am Wochenende, ja, ist eigentlich ganz unterschiedlich. Wie gesagt, Kino oder, wir gehen auch mal Billard spielen. Es sind eigentlich ganz unterschiedliche Sachen, irgendwas. Wir gehen ziemlich oft grillen, so im Sommer, da haben wir uns Decken mitgenommen.

I: Wie finden das denn, also, Sie haben eine Clique, wo auch deutsche Freunde drin sind. Wie finden die das denn, wenn Sie Russisch reden?

Irina: Sie haben sich jetzt dran gewöhnt. Manche meckern da immer noch rum weil sie ja dann nichts verstehen, aber ist dann eigentlich nicht böse sondern eher, na, so aus Spaß. Ich hab jetzt noch nichts Negatives richtig gehört.

I: Und die anderen Aussiedler oder Russen, sind die alle auch schon ne Weile hier?

Irina: Ja, ich bin, ja ich bin glaub ich jetzt die, die am letzten gekommen ist. Vor siebeneinhalb Jahren sind es jetzt.

I: Also Sie haben niemanden in der Clique, der gerade ganz frisch gekommen ist?

Irina: Nein. Ich kenn zwar Leute, aber die sind nicht, mit denen bin ich nicht sonderlich gut befreundet.

I: Wie kommt das?

Irina: Ich weiß es nicht, denn, also, die meisten, die ich kenne, sind halt als ich hier nach Deutschland kam mit denen ich da so Kontakt hatte, kennen gelernt hab, und mit denen bin ich halt immer noch befreundet. Oder eben Leute aus der Schule. Und die sind meistens schon länger hier.

I: Und die, die kürzer hier sind, die kennen Sie. Woher kennen Sie die?

Irina: Also ich kenn eigentlich die meisten Russen, die hier in Jena sind. Also, nicht alle, aber die meisten, zumindest vom Sehen. Manche lernt man auch so, also eigentlich aus meinem Freundeskreis, ich kenn so ziemlich viele Freunde, und die lernt man irgendwann so kennen, man begegnet sich. Aber ich habe mit denen nichts mehr zu tun.

I: Und warum haben Sie mit denen nichts mehr zu tun?

Irina: Das, ich weiß es nicht, ich denk mal das ist das ist auch von uns abhängig. Also, ich mein, ich bin jetzt nicht irgendwo abgeneigt, also, mir ist es vollkommen egal. Die meisten Leute, die halt frisch nach Deutschland kommen, haben auch eher halt mit denen was zu tun, die eben auch erst vor kurzem aus Russland gekommen sind und, das zirkelt sich dann halt immer so. Wobei ich hab, ich hab noch ne Freundin die ein bisschen, nicht so lange, drei vier Jahre vielleicht, aber auch schon ein Weilchen. Mit der versteh ich mich eigentlich auch ganz gut.

I: Und wie würden Sie generell sagen wie Ihre Leben hier in Jena aussieht, so zum Abschluss?

Irina: Ja, ganz gut eigentlich. Ich mag hier Lobeda nicht, wo ich wohne, aber ansonsten.

I: Wo würden Sie denn gerne wohnen?

Irina: Wir hatten uns mal eine Wohnung an der Tatzendpromenade angeguckt. Also, da die Gegend so würde mir ziemlich gut gefallen, aber die Wohnung war halt nichts. Ja, wir suchen halt auch ne Wohnung, also, außerhalb von Lobeda oder Winzerla, aber ist halt auch, wir finden auch entweder keine passende, oder geldmäßig, ist ja auch rar.

I: Aber das ist dann auch ganz schön weit zur Schule, oder?

Irina: Das würd ich in Kauf nehmen.

I: Ja?

Irina: Ja, ich will absolut aus Lobeda raus.

I: Warum?

Irina: Ich mag das hier nicht. Also bei uns ist richtig schlimm, diese ganzen Leute, die da auf der Straße irgendwie, und überall Kinder, man kann nicht mal Hausaufgaben machen, weil ständig Kinder auf der Straße rumbrüllen und, das ist einfach nervig. Und wenn man abends nach Hause geht, lauter Besoffene und...

I: Haben Sie auch Angst manchmal?

Irina: Na, meistens werden ich nach Hause gebracht von jemandem. So alleine, das ist mir manchmal auch ganz komisch. Also, ich gehe echt ungern alleine durch die Straßen.

I: Ihre Mutter auch?

Irina: Na meine Mutter besteht immer darauf, dass ich nach Hause gebracht werde. Und ich werde auch immer nach Hause gebracht von jemandem, also, männliches.

I: Ok, das heißt, Sie würden gerne in die Stadt ziehen.

Irina: Ja, irgendwohin. Also, Hauptsache aus Lobeda raus.

I: Aber die meisten Ihrer Freunde wohnen doch auch hier, oder?

Irina: Ja, manchen ist das egal, aber die meisten wollen irgendwo raus.

I: Aus Lobeda raus, aber in Jena bleiben.

Irina: Ja.

I: Sind Sie froh, dass Sie nach Deutschland gekommen sind?

Irina: Ja, schon. Ist auch wegen Ausbildung, die hat man dort, also, da braucht man einen sehr guten Schulabschluss oder man braucht Geld, um auf die Universität aufgenommen zu werden. Und ich weiß nicht, ob ich diesen so guten Abschluss geschafft hätte, weil, Geld hätten wir nicht gehabt. Meine Mutter ist auch Alleinerziehend gewesen, mein Vater hat sich nicht um mich gekümmert und, ich bin mir sicher dass meine Mutter nicht das Geld, also, aufgebracht hätte, um mir irgendeine Ausbildung zu finanzieren. Und dann wäre ich, was weiß ich, irgend so was Verkäuferin geworden oder irgend so was in der Art. Was ja eigentlich nicht unbedingt das ist, was ich mal werden will.

I: Jetzt werden Sie Psychologin.

Irina: Ich hoffs.

I: Ok, gut, dann sage ich Dankeschön.

9.6.4.5 Michael, 16 Jahre: „Mir ist das egal, was ich bin“

Michael spricht fehler- und akzentfrei Deutsch, nuschelt jedoch so, dass über weite Teile das Interview schwer verständlich ist. Die Interviewerin selber versteht man teilweise gar nicht, da sie zu weit vom Mikrophon entfernt ist- dies ist mit [?] gekennzeichnet. Michael wirkt über weite Strecken verschlafen und teilweise desinteressiert.

I: Wo sind Sie geboren?

Michael: In St. Petersburg.

I: Und wann sind Sie nach Deutschland gekommen?

Michael: Nach Deutschland? 92.

I: Wie alt waren Sie da?

Michael: Vier Jahre.

I: Können Sie sich erinnern, an die Zeit?

Michael: Na, ein bisschen. Schon, so. Also, was man so mit vier mitkriegt. Auch später. Als vier.

I: [?]

Michael: Naja, ich kann mich da noch so an meine Oma und Opa erinnern. Und an St. Petersburg n bisschen. Aber wir waren ja auch danach noch zu Besuch, noch. Dort. Deswegen weiß ich auch, wie es dort aussieht.

I: Sie waren noch öfter da?

Michael: Ja.

I: Wie oft?

Michael: Zweimal.

I: Zweimal?

Michael: Ja.

I: [?]

Michael: Besuchen, ja, hm, die Stadt. Wie se aussieht. Die Leute. Wie's da so zugeht und sowas.

I: Nochmal zurück zu der Zeit, als Sie hierher gekommen sind. Sie sagen, Sie können sich an Ihre Großeltern erinnern ?

Michael: Die waren hier, sind aber beide gestorben. Also, die sind nach uns gekommen, aber sind dann beide gestorben.

I: Können Sie sich noch erinnern, ob Sie nach Deutschland kommen wollten?

Michael: Ich, mit vier Jahren? Nee, das weiß ich nicht.

I: Sind Sie hier in den Kindergarten gekommen?

Michael: Ja.

I: Wissen Sie noch, wie das war?

Michael: Na, das war, glaub ich, das hat mir nicht gefallen. Das hab ich gehasst, Kindergarten. Und ich konnte auch kein Deutsch, und das, das war auch, ja, das hat mir auf keinen Fall gefallen. Das weiß ich noch. Also, das weiß ich nicht, das hab ich auch nur erzählt gekriegt, aber ich hasste den Kindergarten. Das weiß ich noch.

I: Und als Sie dann in die Schule gekommen sind?

Michael: Schule gekommen. Bin ich, konnt ich auch nicht leiden.

I: Konnten Sie auch nicht leiden.

Michael: Genauso wenig. Jo.

I: Können Sie die Schule heute leiden?

Michael: Naja, ich versteh vielleicht, dass sie ein bisschen wichtig ist. Also, dass sie wichtig ist, Schule, aber. So richtig leiden kann ich sie noch nicht, würd ich sagen.

I: Können Sie sich erinnern, ab wann Sie Deutsch verstanden haben?

Michael: Mit sechs schon, vier, fünf, so.

I: Haben Sie im Kindergarten Deutsch gelernt?

Michael: Ähm, ja, ich glaub. Also, als ich in die Schule kam, konnte ich das schon bereits. Halbwegs konnt ich schon Deutsch. Und dann noch n Jahr konnt ich richtig gut.

I: Und können Sie auch noch Russisch?

Michael: Ja.

I: Welche Sprache sprechen Sie besser?

Michael: Deutsch.

I: Welche Sprache sprechen Sie zu Hause?

Michael: Russisch.

I: Haben Sie noch Verwandte in St. Petersburg?

Michael: Die sind alle hier.

I: Sind Sie Aussiedler?

Michael: Ja. Ich glaub schon. Was bedeutet n das überhaupt?

I: Das bedeutet, dass Sie Deutsche sind, die aber [?]

Michael: Nee, das sind keine Deutschen. Meine Eltern sind keine Deutschen. Das sind Russen. Meine Mutter ist Ukrainerin. Also, so grob.

I: So, jetzt sagen Sie, Sie sprechen zu Hause Russisch und können aber Deutsch besser.

Michael: Hmm [zustimmend].

I: Welche Sprache sprechen Sie denn lieber?

Michael: Deutsch, weil ichs besser kann.

I: Sie haben noch Verwandte oder Freunde [?]

Michael: Freunde ham wir nur in Moskau halt, deutsche Freunde. Ja. Und aus St. Petersburg nicht.

I: Halten Sie noch Kontakt?

Michael: Ja, ja, ja. Wir waren vor zwei Jahren in Moskau. Haben unsere Freunde besucht. Zu Weih, äh, zu Silvester.

I: Sie und Ihre Eltern?

Michael: Ja.

I: Haben Sie noch Geschwister?

Michael: Geschwister hab ich keine.

I: Wenn ich Sie fragen würde- haben Sie die deutsche Staatsbürgerschaft?

Michael: Hmm [zustimmend].

I: Fühlen Sie sich als Deutscher?

Michael: Ich weiß nicht, was es bedeutet, sich als Deutscher zu fühlen. Genau. Was heißt das, sich als Deutscher zu fühlen.

I: Haben Sie da schon mal drüber nachgedacht?

Michael: Na, ich würd schon sagen, dass mir Deutschland gefällt. Weil, ich, also ich war zum Beispiel mal in Amerika, dieses Jahr, und da ist mir halt, da hab ich mir nur gedacht, in Deutschland ist es viel besser.

I: Wo waren Sie?

Michael: In Boston und New York.

I: Und es hat Ihnen nicht gefallen?

Michael: Doch, es hat mir schon gefallen. Aber, also, Deutschland gefällt mir schon besser. Auch als andere Länder. Fühl ich mich hier wie zu Hause.

I: Waren Sie mit der Schule dort oder?

M: Nee, mit meiner Mutter.

[Wirkt genervt]

I: Und was an Deutschland gefällt Ihnen besser?

Michael: Pf, ja, was, so n bisschen geordneter hier alles. Ruhig. Na, ich weiß nicht. Keine Ahnung. Amerika hat natürlich auch seine Vorzüge, da gibts halt viel Platz und sowas. Nicht so viele Leute. Also, in Boston, wo wir da waren, das war auf dem Land, da gab's, da war's viel ruhiger und so. Ja. Ist halt Ansichtssache, sowas.

I: [?] Sind Sie gleich nach Jena gekommen?

Michael: Nee, wir waren zuerst in Gumperda. Gumperda, da ist n Heim. So'n Dorf, nicht weit von Jena. Da war n Heim wo, wenn die Aussiedler herkommen, da werden die halt reingesteckt.

I: Also sind Sie doch Aussiedler? Haben Sie deutsche Vorfahren?

Michael: Nicht dass ich wüsste. Nee. Wir haben keine deutschen Vorfahren.

I: Ok. Also waren Sie zuerst in dem Heim- wie lang waren Sie da ungefähr?

Michael: Zwei Jahre.

I: Und dann kamen Sie hierher?

Michael: Genau.

I: Sind Sie alleine hergekommen oder mit noch anderer Verwandtschaft?

Michael: Verwandtschaft? Naja, mein Onkel kam noch her und, wie gesagt, danach kamen noch Opa und Großeltern.

I: [?]

Michael: Die sind alle nicht Deutsch.

I: Und, Sie haben gesagt, dass es Ihnen in Jena besser gefällt als in den USA, zum Beispiel. Was gefällt Ihnen denn?

Michael: Mir gefällt Jena, genau. Weil ich das sehr gut kenne. Mir gefällt die Umgebung und ich kenn hier halt viele Leute. Und hier gibts halt die schönen Berge und alles, was dazugehört, so zu Jena. Ist auch ruhig hier und so. Aber, aber es ist halt ruhig, und gleichzeitig ist auch alles da. Also, so, hat schon sowas Großstadt-ähnliches. Genau. Jena, würd ich sagen. N bisschen schon. Ja, wir haben halt n Stadtzentrum, da sind halt manchmal Veranstaltungen und sowas.

I: Was für Veranstaltungen?

Michael: Altstadtfest zum Beispiel.

I: Das war jetzt gerade.

Michael: Ja genau. Da war ich.

I: Da waren Sie jeden Tag?

Michael: Nee, einmal war ich da. Sonst nicht.

I: Und sonst, was machen Sie sonst so?

Michael: [Überlegt]. Nix besonderes. Also, Veranstaltungen meine ich. Ich war einmal erst bei so nem Festival.

I:[?]

Michael: In Jena. Also, halt, in Jena war ich erst bei so nem Konzert.

I: Jetzt mal zu Ihren Freundschaften. Die Freunde, die Sie haben, sprechen Sie mit denen Deutsch?

Michael: Na, so richtige Freunde sind das Russen. Also, die man halt so kennt, Freunde, also, so richtige, alte Freunde. Die hab ich noch ausm Heim. Also, aus Gumperda. Und das sind dann logischerweise Russen.

I: Ach, so lange haben Sie die schon?

Michael: Ja. Also, die sind alle noch hier irgendwo. Ja. Deutsche kenne ich natürlich auch genug. Unternehmen auch manchmal was mit denen. Also aus, aus meiner Schule so. Da hab ich ja, da sind überhaupt keine Russen. Und da unternehm ich auch manchmal was mit denen. Am Wochenende. Aber, eigentlich sind halt Russen meine richtigen Freunde.

I: Haben Sie einen besten Freund?

Michael: Ja.

I: Ist das ein Russe?

Michael: Ja.

I: Welche Sprache sprechen Sie mit ihm?

Michael: Deutsch.

I: Obwohl er ein Russe ist?

Michael: Ja, der wohnt ja auch so lange hier.

I: Und wenn Sie in der Gruppe unterwegs sind mit Ihren Freunden, welche Sprache sprechen Sie da?

Michael: Deutsch.

I: Auch Deutsch.

Michael: Betrunken sprechen wir Russisch. Ich weiß nicht. Das ist einfach.

I: Dann singen Sie russische Lieder?

Michael: Nee, sprechen auf einmal Russisch. Weiß nicht, warum.

I: Auch wenn Ihre deutschen Freunde dabei sind?

Michael: Ja, manchmal muss man denen vielleicht n bisschen was dolmetschen. Nee, also, ha, ja, nein. Manchmal schon. Nimmt man schon n bisschen Rücksicht auf die, nicht wahr, also, glaub ich schon, n bisschen Rücksicht.

[Die nächsten Sätze sind weder Michael noch die Interviewerin verständlich]

Michael: Im Freundeskreis sind auch viele Deutsche dabei. Ja. Mädchen sind auch aus Russland, und auch deutsche Mädchen. So halt. Aber sind wirklich gut befreundet. Das sind halt, Russen. Da sind auch zwei oder drei. Zwei, drei, Deutsche. Ja, so ist das [gähnt].

I: Ich habe schon mit mehreren anderen Jugendlichen aus Russland gesprochen, und die haben mir gesagt, dass sie andere erkennen, die zum Beispiel Aussiedler sind. Können Sie das auch?

Michael: Würd ich meinen. Also, man erkennt's nicht immer, aber ich mein, ich kann das schon erkennen. Also, man merkt schon, wenn man an jemandem vorbeikommt, kann man schon manchmal sagen, der ist bestimmt irgendwie, irgendwie aus Russland. Das merkt man.

I: Woran?

Michael: [Überlegt]. So am Aussehen. Und wie sich- erkennt man, merkt man halt. Wie das so ist.

I: An der Kleidung oder [?]?

Michael: Weiß ich nicht. An der Ausstrahlung.

I: An der Ausstrahlung?

Michael: Genau.

I: Und wie ist die?

Michael: Wie die ist? Das weiß ich nicht. Russisch halt.

I: Russisch?

Michael: Na ich weiß nicht genau, wie die Ausstrahlung ist. Also, kann man jetzt nicht so beschreiben. Wie beschreibt man Ausstrahlung.

I: [?]

Michael: Nee, das ist, das ist, ich mein, es gibt die freundlichen Russen, es gibt unfreundliche Russen, das ist, das ist was anderes, anderes. Das weiß ich nicht genau, was das ist.

I: Merken Sie das bei Männern und Frauen?

Michael: Ja, ich glaub schon.

I: Und bei älteren?

Michael: [Überlegt, nickt].

I: Aber warum wissen Sie nicht?

Michael: Nee, weiß ich nicht.

I: Könnten Sie denn sagen, das ist typisch Russisch? [?] Wie würden Sie das beschreiben?

Michael: Was typisch wär für nen Russen. Dass er Russisch spricht, wahrscheinlich erstmal. Ich weiß nicht. Ich mein, so richtig in Russland spricht man ja auch Russisch. Und dann ist das ganz, also, wenn man auf Russisch spricht, ist das Gespräch auch irgendwie ganz anders. So.

I: [?]

Michael: Hmm, wie kann ich das erklären? Hmm. Zu was solln das führen jetzt? Eigentlich, warum, was typisch für nen Russen ist?

I: Ich frage danach, weil ich versuche herauszufinden, mit wem Jugendliche, die hierher immigriert sind, zusammen sind. Was sie mit denen machen, ob es da irgendwelche Unterschiede gibt oder ob es da überhaupt keine Unterschiede gibt, und wie sich das unterscheidet, wie man sich mit sich selber auseinandersetzt.

Michael: Ach so. Na, ich würd sagen, Russen sind vielleicht ein bisschen, naja, die nehmen das vielleicht – es gibt natürlich auch mit Sicherheit Deutsche, die so sind, aber, die nehmen das nicht ganz so ernst alles. Mit denen kann man eher seinen Spaß machen.

I: Haben Sie deswegen auch eher russische Freunde, oder ist das Zufall?

Michael: Das ist, weil wir uns so lange kennen.

I: [?]

Michael: Naja, wir, das passt wahrscheinlich auch n bisschen, weil wir beide Russen sind. Und so.
Das passt dann wahrscheinlich schon n bisschen.

I: Also, Sie haben gesagt, Sie sind [?] und trotzdem sagen Sie, es passt besser zusammen [?]?

Michael: Naja, vielleicht. Kann sein. Ich nehm das da nicht so bewusst. Mir ist das egal, was ich bin. Mach ich mir halt keine Gedanken, was es heißt, Russisch zu sein. Wie gesagt.

I: Haben Sie sich da schon mal Gedanken drüber gemacht?

Michael: Naja, zum Beispiel, mein Vater sagt, ich, also, der sagt zum Beispiel auch, der weiß ganz genau, dass er n Russe ist und so und der kann's überhaupt nicht verstehen kann, wie es sein kann, dass ich nicht genau weiß, ob ich Russe bin oder Deutscher oder sowas oder auch Jude, wir haben auch jüdische Vorfahren. So. Das ist mir alles egal. Versteh das auch nicht, ich mein, viele Menschen fühlen sich halt jüdisch und andere Russisch und Deutsch. Mir ist das ganz einfach egal. Mach ich mir überhaupt keine Gedanken drüber.

I: War das schon immer so, dass Ihnen das egal war?

Michael: Ja, ich glaub schon. War schon immer so.

I: Aber Ihr Vater spricht sie darauf an?

Michael: Nee, er spricht mich nicht darauf an. Er *hat* da schon mal drauf angesprochen. Also, ja.

I: Ok, dann hätte ich noch so ein paar Fragen, was Sie denn so machen, wenn Sie sich mit Ihren Freunden treffen. Also, Sie sind im Sportverein [?]?

Michael: Ja, so, ja, wir sind tatsächlich alle im Sportverein. Ja, Fitness. Machen Fitnesstraining zusammen. Ja, und sonst treffen wir uns halt am Wochenende. Was man dann so halt macht, wenn man jung ist.

I: Treffen Sie sich dann draußen, oder bei jemandem zu Hause, oder?

Michael: Wenn, dann... wenn mal bei jemandem keiner zu Hause ist, dann trifft man sich halt bei nem Freund. Und wenn's kalt ist, dann geht man halt irgendwo rein. Und wenns warm ist, geht man draußen. Bleibt man halt draußen. Ja.

I: Haben Sie irgendwelche Treffpunkte?

Michael: Wie ist das? Also, in Lobeda, also, im Sommer, da gibts schon so'n paar Treffpunkte. Ist halt so, hat sich halt irgendwie entwickelt. Trifft man sich halt, in Lobeda treffen sich halt viele. Von uns auch. Ja, und sonst, im Winter, gehn wir halt auch ganz normal in Kneipen. Ganz normal. Das. Das ist so.

I: In Lobeda, das haben mir andere erzählt, gibt es nicht so Clubs, in denen man sich treffen könnte.

Michael: Nee, na, da is nix, das ist einfach nur, trifft man sich halt.

I: [?]

Michael: Genau. Das wars. Muss man halt mal schauen. Das ist immer die Frage: Wo geht man hin.

I: Ist das ein Problem, ist das schwierig, Orte zu finden [?]?

Michael: Ja, mei, also, am liebsten hat man's natürlich bei jemandem zu Hause. Weil, da ist es halt warm, gemütlich, und da gibts ne Couch und so weiter und so fort. Ja, ich würd nicht sagen, dass es n Problem is. Aber was man so, was man jetzt macht, das wird schon manchmal ne Frage, die halt Antworten braucht. Man findet schon was.

I: Nur am Wochenende, oder treffen Sie sich auch Wochentags?

Michael: Nee, na, Wochentags, na, mit Schule ist ja nicht so schwierig. Außerdem hab ich, dann schlaf ich halt. So. Da macht man nix anderes. Also, so, Wochentags, wenn Schule ist, treffen wir uns eigentlich gar nicht. Höchstens halt zum Sport.

I: Wie oft machen Sie den?

Michael: Wann man Lust hat. Also, ein paar Mal halt. Dreimal. Dann halt auch am Wochenende. Freitag meistens. Freitag, dann vielleicht noch Sonntags. Und dann noch einmal in der Woche. Treffen wir uns auch. So.

[Die nächsten Sätze sind weder Michael noch die Interviewerin verständlich]

I: Können Sie sich vorstellen, in Jena zu bleiben?

Michael: Ja, vielleicht. Vielleicht bleib ich da. Also, ich will danach studieren. Und hier in Jena gibts ja was, kann man ja studieren. Muss ich mal schauen.

I: Wissen Sie schon, was Sie studieren wollen?

Michael: Also, erst wars Physik. Und jetzt weiß ich schon wieder nicht mehr. Vielleicht auch was anderes. Muss ich mal überlegen.

I: [?]

Michael: Naja, weiß noch nicht. Na, vielleicht auch doch. Vielleicht- ich weiß nicht. Physik ist so, ist halt Mathematik und sowas, alles sehr abstrakt. Vielleicht irgendso ne bisschen, bisschen, bisschen schönere Wissenschaft. Vielleicht.

I: Also, jetzt machen Sie Abi und danach wollen Sie studieren. Vielleicht Physik.

Michael: Vielleicht Physik.

I: Können Sie sich vorstellen, dass Sie mal nach Russland ziehen?

Michael: Hmm. Ganz bestimmt nicht.

I: Ganz bestimmt nicht?

Michael: Naja, erstens: Was will ich da? Und zweitens ist es in Russland nicht schön. Also, doch, es ist schön, Russland. Aber... naja, also, was, was will man in Russland? Ich weiß nicht. Da ist es kalt. Nix besonderes. Ist halt, ist halt kein Grund dafür da, auch woanders hinzuziehen. Is halt, seh ich auch noch keinen Grund, höchstens zum Studieren, aber.

I: Heißt das, Sie können es sich auch nicht richtig vorstellen, innerhalb Deutschlands umzuziehen?

Michael: Hmm, ich weiß nicht. Eigentlich hab ich das auch nicht, will ich das auch nicht.

I: Also Sie möchten gern in Jena bleiben.

Michael: Ja genau.

I: Gibt es denn auch irgendetwas, was Ihnen nicht gefällt in Jena, wo Sie sagen, das wäre verbesserungswürdig?

Michael: Naja, es gibt diese Faschisten. Das ist natürlich, das ist natürlich nicht schön. Was gefällt mir sonst noch nicht... Ja, die Fahrscheinlisten [?] zum Teil. Aber dafür hat man ja Autos. Und sonst fällt mir nix ein.

I: Und mit dem Faschisten?

Michael: Ja, also in Winzerla ist es sehr bisschen schlimm, aber sonst. Also, ich, am schlimmsten. Ja, gibts halt welche. Stören mich eigentlich auch nicht wirklich. Aber ist halt, weiß nicht, die sitzen halt irgendwo rum und wenn man dran vorbeiläuft ist halt nicht ganz angenehm, so. Bei mir gehts, mir sieht man nicht an, dass ich Russe bin. Deswegen hab ich da auch nicht die Probleme. Außer ein Mal. Da hatte ich mal ein Problem mit nem. Aber sonst.

I: Was ist da passiert?

Michael: Ja, wir hatten eine Auseinandersetzung mit einem Faschisten. Zwei. Ja. Die ham halt angefangen. Haben uns nicht gewehrt, so. Und jetzt war da letztens erst Gerichtstermin. Das muss schon sein. Das Recht wird ihn schon bestrafen. So.

I: Gerichtstermin? Sie haben ihn angezeigt?

Michael: Ja.

I: Sie waren zu mehreren?

Michael: Wir waren zu dritt.

I: Und er?

Michael: Er war zu zweit. Also, sie waren zu zweit. Aber der eine stand daneben. Also, wie gesagt, wir hätten die an sich, wenn wir wirklich wollten, wahrscheinlich... bearbeiten können, also, flachgelegt. Aber das haben wir nicht getan. Wir haben es uns einfach gefallen lassen.

I: Und wie war das jetzt beim Gerichtstermin?

Michael: Gerichtstermin? Naja. Hingesetzt und Aussage gemacht und. Nix besonderes.

I: Das war das einzige Mal, das was passiert ist?

Michael: Ja.

I: War das hier in der Nachbarschaft?

Michael: Das war in Lobeda.

I: [?]

Michael: Nö, das war, das war total, das, der saß einfach da und kam an, Batsch, Zack, ohne Grund schlägt er zu.

I: Also Sie wissen gar nicht, ob das jetzt einfach so passiert ist oder weil Sie russischer Abstammung sind?

Michael: Ja, der, der, gut, das war total- also, ich versteh auch nicht, versteh nicht was der da, was der sich dabei gedacht hat. Will ich auch gar nicht wissen. Ist mir egal.

I: [?]

Michael: Naja, hatte halt Bock. Ich mein, hier, betrinken sich draußen, irgendwann ist einer betrunken genug. Die anderen schaffen es nicht, den aufzuhalten, denn meistens ist es ja so dass es immer ein paar Vernünftige unter den vielen gibt und dann, die halten den einen zurück. Aber wenn das halt, naja, passiert bestimmt öfters. Ja, in Jena, überall.

I: Passiert das auch Ihren Freunden?

Michael: Meine Freunde? Also, wie gesagt, das passiert nicht ständig oder sowas. Passiert anderen Leuten, die ich vielleicht gar nicht kenne, aber es ist nun mal so, dass die so n bisschen aggressiv sind, die ganzen Leute. Die, die gehn auch nicht nur unbedingt auf Ausländer, die können auch hier vielleicht auch auf Deutsche gehen. Also, denen ist das dann in dem Moment glaub ich auch egal.

I: Sind das ältere oder sind die gleich alt?

Michael: Das sind manchmal auch ältere. Aber einmal wurde auch berichtet da wurde einer fast totgeschlagen. Aber, Glück gehabt. Auch einfach nur so weil er, weil der halt so aggressiv war, so betrunken war. Ja.

I: Haben Sie eine Erklärung [?]?

Michael: Ich weiß gar nicht, wo die herkommen. Ich mein, ich, also, ich beobachte das zum Beispiel draußen, da, vielleicht, vielleicht sind das auch so voreilige Schlüsse, aber da sind zum Beispiel n Vater mit seinem Sohn, und der Vater der sieht dann schon auch so bisschen so rechtsgerichtet, der ist bestimmt- der betrinkt sich nicht auf der Straße, der hat n Zuhause und sowas, der ist wahrscheinlich mehr oder weniger normal. Aber der ist höchstwahrscheinlich rechtsgerichtet und sein Sohn wird dann halt so'n Radikaler dann. Könnt ich mir vorstellen. Weiß nicht genau, ob das so ist. Vielleicht kommt da raus irgendwie aus dem elterlichen, ja, weil, es gibt ja wahrscheinlich auch Erwachsene, die so drauf sind. Ja, und dann kommen die. Es sind ja auch nicht viele. Also, so viele sind das ja nicht, aber, die paar Leute, ich mein, wenn die sich dann zu zehnt treffen, das reicht dann schon so zum ein paar Leute zusammen zu schlagen.

I: Gibt es hier Gegenden die Sie meiden deswegen?

Michael: Eigentlich nicht. Ich hab keine Angst vor denen. Überhaupt nicht.

I: Sie haben gesagt, Sie hätten es sich einfach gefallen lassen. Gibt es einen Grund dafür?

Michael: Ist nur ne gute Einstellung. Nee, was heißt pazifistisch. Ich mein, nee, es gibt keinen Grund dafür. Was heißt pazifistisch, ich mein, ich, ich bin halt nicht so gegen, für Gewalt und sowas. Ich tu mich halt nicht gerne schlagen. Irgendwie, Aggressionen, einfach so, sinnlos, an irgendwelchen Leuten auslassen. Sowas.

I: Wenn Sie sich Ihre Zukunft vorstellen sagen Sie, Sie möchten die Schule abschließen, obwohl sie Ihnen überhaupt keinen Spaß macht?

Michael: Was heißt überhaupt keinen Spaß. Die Schule ist, s gibt schon interessante Fächer. Aber die uninteressanten heben das wieder auf!

I: Welche sind das?

Michael: Englisch. Englisch. Englisch, Deutsch. Naja, Schule is- es is einfach nur, es wird sehr viel einfach nur rumgelabert, ohne irgendwelchen Inhalt. Und dann, dann sitzt man da und langweilt, langweilt sich halt. Also, das passiert manchmal. Und das ist halt das Negative an Schule. Das Positive ist dann wieder, dass man natürlich was dazu lernt. Das Interessante. Und das hebt sich halt auf.

[Die nächsten Sätze sind weder Michael noch die Interviewerin verständlich]

I: Ich frag nochmal- ich weiß, dass Sie das nicht interessiert, ich frag trotzdem: Diese Sache mit der Identität [?], das interessiert sie nicht und Ihre Freunde?

Michael: Naja, doch n bisschen mehr als mich. Die, also, die fühlen sich schon also, einige von denen fühlen, denken schon, die, also, zum Beispiel den, den Sie morgen besuchen, den Dima, das ist mein bester Freund. Der meint schon, glaub ich, mehr dass, der, der, der denkt, der wär n Russe, so. Der ist da auch, glaub ich, stolz drauf, würd ich sagen. Vielleicht nicht so extrem im extremen Sinne, aber der ist da schon stolz drauf, dass er Russe ist und so. Und andere denken das auch.

I: Spielt das irgendeine Rolle in Ihrem Leben, dass Sie nicht hier in Deutschland geboren sind?

Michael: Nein.

I: Glauben Sie, dass wenn ich in einem Jahr wiederkommen würde, würde es da eine Rolle spielen?

Michael: Nein. Warum auch? Wie sollte das ne Rolle spielen?

I: Na, es gibt ja Leute wie ihren Freund Dima [?]

Michael: Nee, der sagt nur, dass er stolz drauf ist, dass er Russe ist. Ich mein. Der ist, der ist halt, der ist halt stolz auf seine, auf seine Wurzeln. Das versteh ich zwar nicht ganz, aber er ist halt so. Weil das spielt dann auch kein Leben in seine Rolle. Ich mein, das was er tut, das, das, da denkt er sich nicht immer dabei, ich bin Russe, also tu ich jetzt das. Ich bin Russe, also tu ich jetzt das. Sondern ich denk mal, der handelt so von sich aus, nicht weil er Russe ist.

I: Ja, aber es gibt Leute, die sind stolz darauf, dass sie zwei Sprachen sprechen, zum Beispiel.

Michael: Ja, und ich find's schön, dass ich zwei Sprachen spreche. Schon was Gutes. Vielleicht auch n bisschen stolz. Naja, nun. Ich mein, es gibt viele Leute, die zwei Sprachen sprechen.

I: Ja, aber Russisch ist eine Sprache, die schon [?]

Michael: Aber das hat doch nix damit zu tun, dass ich n Russe bin. Das ist einfach nur, schon gut, dass ich zwei Sprachen sprech.

I: Das heißt aber, es wäre Ihnen genauso recht, wenn Sie nur eine Sprache sprächen?

Michael: Ja. Klar. Ich finds ja schon gut, ich find das wirklich sehr gut, dass ich zwei Sprachen kann. Ja, also, ich mein, wenn ich mich jetzt entscheiden müsste, ob ich nur eine Sprache oder zwei Sprache spreche, würde ich lieber zwei Sprachen sprechen. So. Ja.

I: Aber wenn Sie sich zum Beispiel entscheiden müssten, Französisch oder Russisch?

Michael: Ich würd lieber Russisch sprechen.

I: Warum?

Michael: Weiß ich nicht. Weil ich Französisch, weil mir die Sprache nicht gefällt. Außerdem ist das Land so klein. Und Russland ist viel größer. Außerdem hab ich die russischen Leute hier gern. Und somit könnt ich mich, ja, genau, außerdem ist es ja auch, ist es ja auch Entwicklungsland, was ich in naher Zukunft vielleicht in deutschen Wirtschaftskursen lerne wenn ich da irgendwie vielleicht Geschäfte damit machen will.

I: Also das können Sie sich schon vorstellen?

Michael: Ich kann es mir nicht vorstellen, aber vielleicht. Das hab ich mir so überlegt. Vielleicht. Ich mein, das, ich mein, ich kann zwei Sprachen, warum soll ich jetzt nicht nutzen? Aber ich, wahrscheinlich mach ich das nicht.

[Die nächsten Sätze sind weder Michael noch die Interviewerin verständlich]

Michael: Psychologie vielleicht. Philosophie. Aber Philosophie kommt eigentlich nach Physik. Also ich weiß es nicht genau. Das entscheide ich im allerletzten Moment.

I: Psychologie warum? Das muss ich jetzt fragen, denn ich habe ja Psychologie studiert...

Michael: Warum? Weiß ich nicht. Interessiert mich.

I: Haben Sie da schon mal was gemacht?

Michael: Gemacht, in Psychologie? Wie denn?

I: Na, gibt es das als Schulfach, zum Beispiel?

Michael: Nö. Ich find's einfach interessant. So. Interessant. Aber ich will auch kein Psychologe sein [lacht] und so, ich weiß es wirklich nicht, was ich machen will. Wie gesagt, ich bin mir noch nicht schlüssig.

I: Würden Sie nochmal ins Ausland gehen wollen?

Michael: Ins Ausland gehen, nee. Seh ich auch keinen Grund dafür. Warum ich das machen sollte. Warum sollt ich das machen. Wenns- ich mein, ich bin nicht abgeneigt irgendwo hinzugehen. Aber so jetzt hab ich das nicht vorgenommen, ins Ausland.

[Die nächsten Sätze sind weder Michael noch die Interviewerin verständlich]

Michael: Na, das ist gut zum Sprache lernen. Wenns fürs Geld, finanziell möglich wäre, hätt ich, werd ich mir das noch überlegt, ob ich das machen sollte, aber... hab ich mir das, also, fand ich das nicht so interessant.

I: Gut! Dann bedanke ich mich.

9.6.4.6 Dimitri, 16 Jahre: „Ich bin froh, Russe zu sein“

Interview am 24.09.2004 mit Dimitri, 16 Jahre. Dimitri wohnt mit seinen Eltern und seiner Schwester in einer Wohnung, das Interview findet in seinem Zimmer statt. Im Flur hängt eine Stange für Klimmzüge. Beim Gehen kommt sein Vater, der sich sehr freundlich nach der Studie und meinem Beruf erkundigt, viel Erfolg wünscht und stolz auf die Klimmstange zeigt und darauf hinweist, wie trainiert sein Sohn ist. Dimitri spricht fehlerfrei Deutsch, mit rollendem „r.“ Wenn er spricht, hört es sich an, als würde er lächeln. Dimitri ist kein Aussiedler, sondern Sohn eines russischen Juden.

I: Wo wurden Sie geboren?

Dimitri: In Charkow, Ukraine.

I: Das wird schwierig, wenn ich das nachher aufschreiben muss.

Dimitri [lacht]: Soll ich Ihnen das vielleicht aufschreiben?

I: Ja, das wär super. [Pause]. Wie lange sind Sie schon in Deutschland?

Dimitri: Schon ungefähr zehn Jahre.

I: Das heißt, da waren Sie... jetzt sind Sie 17?

Dimitri: Ich werde nächsten Monat 17.

I: Ja.

Dimitri: Also, naja, so, sechs, sechs Jahre alt.

I: Sechs Jahre. Sind Sie hier in die Schule gekommen?

Dimitri: Ja.

I: Sind Sie in der Ukraine schon in die Schule gegangen?

Dimitri: Nee, da hab ich nur Kindergarten.

I: Wissen Sie noch wie das war, als Sie hierher gekommen sind- wollten Sie hierher kommen?

Dimitri: Naja, ob ich hierher kommen wollte, weiß ich nicht mehr. Aber, naja, ich fands in Russland nicht schlecht, aber ich hatte ja auch keine Wahl, ich war...

I: ...haben Sie in Russland gelebt oder in der Ukraine?

Dimitri: Nee, in der Ukraine habe ich gelebt, ich sag nur immer Russland, weil...

I: Sagen Sie?

Dimitri: Ja, weil... Bestimmt Angewöhnungssache.

I: Ok, gut. Also, Sie, Sie haben in der Ukraine gewohnt und sind in den Kindergarten gegangen und wussten nicht, dass Sie hierher kommen...

Dimitri: Ja.

I: ...oder wussten Sie es schon?

Dimitri: Ja [zögert], also, nach dem Kindergarten bin ich hierher gezogen und ob ich das damals schon wusste, ob ich das will oder nicht, da bin ich mir nicht sicher. Weiß ich einfach nicht mehr.

I: Erinnern Sie sich noch an Ihre Ankunft hier? Oder die erste Zeit?

Dimitri: Ja. Ja.

I: Wie war das?

Dimitri: Ja, das war natürlich spannend. Ja natürlich, so ein neues Land- ich war hier ja noch nie. Und unsere Verwandten, die sind hierher gezogen und, und, da sind wir erstmal zu Besuch bei denen gewesen. War schon interessant, dann!

I: Aber die Verwandten kannten Sie noch von vorher?

Dimitri: Jaja. Die haben mit uns in der selben Stadt gelebt.

I: Und war das so, wie Sie das erwartet hatten, hatten Sie irgendwelche Vorstellungen?

Dimitri: Ich hatte eigentlich überhaupt keine Erwartungen. Ich hab, damals war ich klein, damals hab ich gedacht, hier gibts sehr interessantes Spielzeug und so was. Und das, das waren eigentlich meine hauptsächlichen Erwartungen.

I: Ist Ihnen das erzählt worden, mit dem Spielzeug?

Dimitri: Ja, das ist, na, das hab ich mir eigentlich so vorgestellt. Also, in Russland. Dass es hier interessantes Spielzeug gibt und so. Und mein Vater, der war ja vorher mal allein in Deutschland bei den Verwandten, die vorher hergezogen waren, und hat da was mitgebracht, so ein bisschen Spielzeug und so, und... naja, also, ich hab mich eigentlich gefreut, hierher zu kommen.

I: Und vielleicht wissen Sie noch, wo sind Sie denn dann hingekommen, sind Sie zu Ihren Verwandten oder?

Dimitri: Ae, nein. Wir waren erstmal im Ausländerheim. In Gumperda. Und da haben wir ein Jahr, glaube ich, haben wir da gelebt, und dann haben wir diese Wohnung bekommen.

I: Und Ihre Verwandten, sind die auch in Jena?

Dimitri: Ja.

I: Sind Sie mit ihren Eltern, haben Sie noch Geschwister?

Dimitri: Ja, ich hab noch eine große Schwester.

I: Und mit Ihren Eltern und Ihrer großen Schwester sind Sie hierher gekommen?

Dimitri: Ja.

I: Und was für Verwandte wohnen schon hier?

Dimitri: Naja, meine Tante und ihre Tochter. Die sind als erstes hierher gezogen. Die Tochter hat auch Kinder, so, mit denen. Meine Oma. Ja, und wir haben noch, hier in Deutschland, noch

andere Verwandte, aber die wohnen in Sachsen. Also, fast unsere ganze Verwandtschaft lebt eigentlich hier.

I: Haben Sie noch Verwandte in der Ukraine?

Dimitri: Ja. Also, in der Ukraine und in Russland haben wir Verwandte.

I: Haben Sie noch Kontakt zu denen?

Dimitri: Jaja! Also, wir fahren jedes Jahr in den Sommerferien fahren wir zurück.

I: Ach ja?

Dimitri: Nach Russland, ja.

I: Wie lange dauert das? Wie lang ist die Reise?

Dimitri: Naja, also meistens fahren wir dann so drei, vier Wochen hin.

I: Ja, und wie lange braucht es, bis man dort ankommt?

Dimitri: Ach so. Ja, da fahren wir dann mit Auto, das dauert immer drei Tage. Ungefähr. Also, wenn man langsam, locker fährt.

I: Drei Tage hin, drei Tage zurück.

Dimitri: Genau.

I: Und das jeden Sommer. Und telefonieren Sie auch noch mit denen?

Dimitri: Ja, meine Mutter telefoniert mit meiner Oma dort.

I: Aber Sie nicht.

Dimitri: Ich nicht, nein. Also, ich seh lieber jedes Jahr, und ich, ich mag es nicht, zu telefonieren.

I: Als Sie hier nach Deutschland gekommen sind, sind Sie in den Kindergarten gekommen oder in die Schule?

Dimitri: Ich bin gleich in die Schule gekommen.

I: Und wie war das?

Dimitri: Naja, abgesehen davon, dass ich kein einziges Wort Deutsch verstand, war das schon ziemlich interessant.

I: Wie haben Sie das dann gemacht, wenn Sie kein Deutsch verstanden haben?

Dimitri: Ich weiß nicht. Ich konnte nur „ja“ und „nein“ sagen, und mit der Zeit habe ich es gelernt.

I: Und wie fanden Sie das?

Dimitri: Ja, ich fand das interessant, ich hatte da auch ein paar Freunde, die ich in dem Heim kennen gelernt hatte, in dem Ausländerheim, die haben ja auch Russisch gesprochen, die gingen auch auf die selbe Schule. Ich habe mich mit denen unterhalten, und mit der Zeit Deutsch gelernt.

I: Haben Sie die Freunde noch?

Dimitri: Ja. Alle.

I: Alle?

Dimitri: Ja, ja.

I: Das ist schon ne lange Zeit.

Dimitri: Ja, zehn, zehn Jahre.

I: Was ist Ihre Muttersprache?

Dimitri: Meine Muttersprache ist Russisch.

I: Russisch. Sprechen Sie die besser als Deutsch?

Dimitri: Ungefähr gleich gut.

I: Welche Sprache sprechen Sie denn zu Hause?

Dimitri: Zu Hause? Russisch. Also erstens, weil meine Mutter versteht kein Russisch, äh, Deutsch, und mein Vater, der spricht auch so ein etwas gebrochenes Deutsch. Deswegen. Da unterhalte ich mich lieber Russisch mit denen.

I: Und mit Ihrer Schwester?

Dimitri: Mit meiner Schwester auch Russisch.

I: Auch Russisch.

Dimitri: Ja.

I: Und, sind Ihre Eltern Aussiedler? Sind das Deutsche?

Dimitri: Nein, nein. Also, mein Vater, der ist Jude, und meine Mutter, die ist Russin.

I: Das heißt, Sie sind nicht als Aussiedler nach Deutschland gekommen.

Dimitri: Nein.

I: Wie lange hat es denn ungefähr gedauert, eh Sie Deutsch gelernt haben?

Dimitri: Ich glaub, so bis ich verstehen konnte und reden konnte hat das bestimmt zwei Jahre gedauert. Anderthalb bis zwei Jahre, glaub ich.

I: War das dann nicht schwer?

Dimitri: Ach nein, das war ja so ganz nebenbei. Ich hab ja nicht speziell Deutsch gelernt mit sechs Jahren. Das war so ganz nebenbei und ich, ich lern ja immer lieber dazu, also, immer noch, sozusagen.

I: Wenn ich Sie jetzt fragen würde, und das war auch eine Frage in dem Fragebogen, sind Sie Deutscher?

Dimitri: Würde ich sagen: Nein.

I: Nein. Haben Sie den deutschen Pass?

Dimitri: Noch nicht, aber ich habe ihn schon beantragt.

I: Also, Sie würden sagen, Sie sind überhaupt nicht Deutscher, kein Stück. Auch nicht ein Teil, oder?

Dimitri: Nee, ich, ich würd sagen, nicht wirklich, nein.

I: Was sind Sie dann?

Dimitri: Also, ich würd sagen, ich gehöre in die Ukraine.

I: Sie sind Ukrainer.

Dimitri: Ja.

I: Wieso? Wie kommt das?

Dimitri: Ich weiß nicht. Vielleicht ist es etwas Patriotismus. Aber ich, ich weiß es nicht.

I: Möchten Sie auch zurückziehen? In die Ukraine?

Dimitri: Naja, ob ich, ob ich dahin ziehen würde, weiß ich nicht. Ich würde auf jeden Fall gerne mal für ein paar Jahre in eine Wohnung und gucken, wie das ist. Also, naja. Bisschen bei Bekannten, bei Freunden, ich glaube, das würde ich gerne tun.

I: Aber nur ein paar Jahre?

Dimitri: Erstmal. Und dann würde ich gucken, wie sich das entwickelt. Ich weiß es jetzt nicht.

I: Also, hätten Sie das vor, jetzt nach der Schule dahinzugehen, zum Beispiel?

Dimitri: Nein, nach der Schule will ich erstmal studieren.

I: Was wollen Sie studieren?

Dimitri: Das weiß ich noch nicht.

I: Hier in Jena?

Dimitri: Ja, ich denk mal.

I: Und könnten Sie es sich aber auch vorstellen, in Deutschland zu bleiben?

Dimitri: Ja, sicherlich.

I: In Jena?

Dimitri: Ja, also, Jena find ich gut. Jena gefällt mir. Also, in den Städten, in denen ich bisher war, hier in Deutschland, gefällt mir Jena am meisten.

I: Wo waren Sie denn überall?

Dimitri: Naja, nicht wahnsinnig, vor allem in großen Städten, Hamburg, also, mag ich nicht, ist nicht so mein Ding, in großen Städten. Jena, so, das hat die perfekte Größe. Das hat alles, was man braucht, das reicht auch.

I: Was brauchen Sie denn so?

Dimitri: Ach, ich weiß nicht. Freiraum. Nur, in einer großen Stadt gibts zu viel davon [lacht]. Und zu viel ist auch nicht gut.

I: Was meinen Sie mit Freiraum?

Dimitri: Naja, das ist, also, egal was man hier braucht, also, die Freunde, die wohnen sozusagen alle in der Nähe und doch in, also, in einer Stadt und so, man kann ausgehen, alles da. Also, ich fühl mich wohl hier, ja.

I: Aber Sie würden nicht sagen, Sie sind Deutscher...

Dimitri: Nein.

I: Was bedeutet das denn für Sie, zu sagen, ich lebe zwar in Deutschland, aber ich bin Ukrainer?

Dimitri: [Zögert]. Dass ich... wie kann ich die Frage verstehen?

I: Als ich Sie gefragt habe, wie würden Sie sich selbst sehen, haben Sie gesagt, ich bin Ukrainer.
Und das kam sofort.

Dimitri: Hmm [zustimmend].

I: Und, und ich wollte wissen, wieso, wie kommen Sie auf die Idee, dass Sie Ukrainer sind.

Dimitri: Wie ich darauf komme? Na ich, ich komme aus Ukraine und ich glaube die Menschen in Ukraine gefallen mir besser. Das ist jetzt- ich möchte das jetzt nicht so sagen, dass es auf alle bezogen ist. Aber ich denk mal, Sie verstehen das, ja? Aber, so meine persönliche Meinung ist, dass die Menschen in westlichen Ländern, also in Russland und Ukraine, die, mit denen versteh ich mich besser. Das merk ich auch hier, jetzt. Ich hab hier auch Freunde, meine Freunde sind vor allem Russisch, ja. Russisch. Also, aus dem Westen alle. Natürlich, ich habe auch ein paar deutsche Freunde, aber mit den russischen, mit denen versteh ich mich halt besser.

I: Können Sie das erklären, warum?

Dimitri: Nein, ich weiß nicht, warum.

I: War das schon immer so?

Dimitri: Ja.

I: Und, liegt das an dem, was Sie zusammen machen, oder liegt das an der Sprache, oder?

Dimitri: Ich, ich weiß es nicht. Ich weiß es wirklich nicht.

I: Woher kennen Sie Ihre deutschen Freunde?

Dimitri: Von der Schule. Aus der Schule.

I: Und Ihre russischen Freunde?

Dimitri: Die kenn ich alle aus dem Heim, in dem ich war.

I: Haben Sie keine neuen hinzugewonnen seitdem?

Dimitri: Doch, ein paar noch.

I: Und woher kennen Sie die?

Dimitri: Die kenne ich auch zum Teil aus der Schule, und ja, eigentlich nur aus der Schule.

I: Und Sie würden sagen, dass Sie mit den russischen Freunden besser befreundet sind.

Dimitri: Hmm [zustimmend].

I: Aber Sie können nicht sagen, warum.

Dimitri: Nein, kann ich nicht.

I: Welche Sprache sprechen Sie denn mit denen?

Dimitri: Mal das, mal das. Mal Russisch, mal Deutsch.

I: Und wenn Sie sich mit Ihren deutschen Freunden treffen, treffen Sie sich dann mit denen alleine oder ist das dann gemischt?

Dimitri: Nein, das ist oft gemischt.

I: Und die kommen dann mit. Haben Sie eine Clique?

Dimitri: Nein, ich hab, na, ich hab nen Freundeskreis. Ob das eine Clique ist, weiß ich nicht. Ich kann das nicht definieren. Also, ich hab einen Freundeskreis, ja.

I: Und der ist gemischt?

Dimitri: Der ist gemischt.

I: Aber die Leute, die Sie lieber mögen, sind Russen.

Dimitri: Ja.

I: Haben Sie einen besten Freund?

Dimitri: Ja.

I: Und wer ist das?

Dimitri: Das ist, bei dem waren Sie, glaube ich...

I: Gestern?

Dimitri: Ja.

I: Der ist auch Russe.

Dimitri: Genau.

I: Und eine beste Freundin?

Dimitri: Ne beste Freundin? Also, ich verstehe mich mit vielen Mädchen gut. Ich habe, eine Freundin von mir ist, ich habe sozusagen zwei beste Freundinnen. Eine ist Russisch, eine ist Deutsch.

I: Unterscheiden die sich, also, von ihrer Nationalität her, können Sie da was sagen, die eine ist typisch Deutsch, die andere ist typisch Russisch?

Dimitri: Ja, ich weiß es nicht. Die, die, meine deutsche Freundin, die hat, die hatte mal nen russischen Freund und, ja, die hat da Russisch gelernt, also, die versteht fast alles, wenn ich ihr was auf Russisch sage. Das finde ich auch sehr interessant. Hat sie sehr schnell gelernt. Das ist... aber ob die sich unterscheiden, ich weiß nicht, ich kann das nicht sagen.

I: Es gibt ein paar Aussiedler, die haben mir gesagt, dass sie erkennen können auf der Straße, ob jemand Russisch ist oder...

Dimitri: Ja, das kann ich auch.

I: Das können Sie auch?

Dimitri: Ja.

I: Wie können Sie das?

Dimitri: Weiß ich nicht. Vielleicht an der Ausstrahlung, vielleicht an was anderem. Ich, ich seh das einfach.

I: An der Ausstrahlung. Was wäre so eine russische Ausstrahlung?

Dimitri: Ich, ich weiß nicht. Ich, ich kann das nicht beschreiben. Wenn jemand auf der Straße auf mich zukommt, dann, also, ich kann das jetzt nicht beschreiben, warum, aber ich könnte sagen, ob er Russisch oder Deutsch ist.

I: Sie haben eben gesagt, vielleicht an der Ausstrahlung. Fällt Ihnen da was ein?

Dimitri: Ja, ähm. Naja, die... meisten Russen, die sind... naja, ich weiß nicht, die haben vielleicht einen anderen Laufstil oder... oder die, die gucken anders, ich, ich weiß es nicht. Das, das würde ich Ihnen vielleicht sagen können, wenn ich einen sehen würde, so auf der Straße, aber...

I: Das sollten wir mal machen, das wäre spannend. Können Sie das bei Jungs und bei Mädchen unterscheiden?

Dimitri: Ja.

I: Und bei alten und bei jungen Leuten?

Dimitri: [Zögert]. Ja, bei den meisten. Natürlich, Ausnahmen bestätigen die Regel, aber, bei den meisten schon.

I: Andere haben mir gesagt, dass es an den Klamotten liegt.

Dimitri: An den Klamotten.

I: Ja, an der Kleidung.

Dimitri: Also, die Kleidung ist es wahrscheinlich bei mir gar nicht.

I: Nee? Noch jemand anderes hat gesagt: Am Lächeln.

Dimitri: Am Lächeln? Die haben ein süßes Lächeln, ja. [Lacht].

I: Wer jetzt? Die russischen Mädchen?

Dimitri: Ja. Aber, es gibt, also, wie gesagt, es ist, ich, ich kann nicht sagen, woran ich die unterscheide. Weil, wenn mir jetzt spontan irgendwelche Punkte einfallen, dann könnte das auch bei deutschen und bei russischen Mädchen genauso sein, oder bei Jungs. Deswegen, müsste ich schon sehen.

I: Aber Sie können es unterscheiden, Sie wissen nicht genau warum, aber Sie können es.

Dimitri: Ja. Also, das ist mir schon aufgefallen.

I: Und haben Sie eine Freundin?

Dimitri: Ich habe keine, nein.

I: Hatten Sie mal ne deutsche Freundin, oder eine russische?

Dimitri: Eine deutsche, nein. Eine russische, ja.

I: Können Sie sich vorstellen, eine deutsche Freundin zu haben?

Dimitri: Ich könnte mir nur vorstellen, eine russische zu haben.

I: Ja? Warum?

Dimitri: Weiß ich nicht. Weil ich versteh mich mit Russen einfach besser.

I: Gibt es etwas, was Sie an den Deutschen stört?

Dimitri [sehr schnell]: Nein. Nein, gibt's nicht. Aber... [lacht], ich weiß es nicht. Also, das ist jetzt ziemlich kompliziert, weil, also, es gibt nicht wirklich was mich stört an den Deutschen. Oder, was mich an denen stören könnte, könnte auch ein russisches Mädchen haben, aber, ich würde viel lieber ein russisches Mädchen haben.

I: Würden Sie dann aber mit ihr hier in Deutschland wohnen wollen oder würden Sie auch gerne wieder zurück nach Russland?

Dimitri: Ja, erstmal in Deutschland, aber in der Zukunft, würde ich dann, also ich weiß es nicht. Also, ich lebe vor allem jetzt. Ich, ich plane nicht gerne voraus.

I: Also, Sie haben gesagt, die russischen Freunde haben Sie schon ganz lange, seitdem Sie in Deutschland sind. Hatten Sie auch mal ne Phase, wo sie mehr deutsche Freunde hatten, oder war das schon immer so gewesen?

Dimitri: Nee, ich glaube, das war immer schon so gewesen.

I: Was machen Sie mit denen so?

D: Wir unterhalten uns, wir gehen Billard spielen, heute wollten wir in die Kneipe gehen.

I: Aber?

Dimitri [lacht]: Nichts aber, machen wir auch, dann abends. Wir gehen zum Training (?), wir unternehmen viel zusammen.

I: Zum Fitness-Training?

Dimitri: Ja, ja.

I: Machen Sie noch einen anderen Sport?

Dimitri: Nein, ich hab mal Judo gemacht, aber hab ich dann getauscht.

I: Womit haben Sie dann angefangen?

Dimitri: Billard. Und sonst, also, ich geh gleich zum Training und ich spiele ja Billard und bin mit meinen Freunden unterwegs.

I: Unterwegs heißt, Sie ziehen durch die Straßen oder Sie treffen sich oder...

Dimitri: Nein, nein, nein, das mit Billard und so, wir gehen auch ab- und zu mal ins Kino, trinken mal was.

I: Ab- und zu? Es gibt aber auch Leute die mir gesagt haben, so, jeden Freitag so n Bierchen.

Dimitri: Nein, also, ich mag das nicht. Also. Was soll ich dazu sagen- also, in bestimmten Abständen zu trinken, also, wenn ich mal die Laune dazu habe, ja, Leute gehen mal in die Kneipe und ich nehm mir n Bier und dann, ein paar Wochen später, wieder- aber bestimmt nicht nächsten Freitag. Für mich nicht.

I: Sie haben gesagt, Sie haben russische Freunde und Sie haben auch deutsche Freunde. Gibt es denn auch Deutsche, mit denen Sie Probleme haben?

Dimitri: Nein.

I: Ist Ihnen schon mal irgendwie was passiert, vielleicht in der Schule oder auf der Straße?

Dimitri: Ja, ich habe mich mal mit einem Nazi gekloppt.

I: Ach ja?

Dimitri: Ja. Aber es war nicht meine Schuld.

I: Ist das schon lange her?

Dimitri: Es ist bestimmt ein Jahr her, glaube ich. Der hat, der hat angefangen, der hat meinen Freund Micha, Michael angemacht und ich bin dazwischen gegangen. Naja, so. Also, ich würde jetzt nicht jemanden von mir aus anmachen. Weil, das ist falsch.

I: Und wie ist das passiert?

Dimitri: Ohne Grund.

I: Hat der gewusst, dass Sie russischen Ursprungs sind?

Dimitri: Weiß ich nicht.

I: Und dann, ist dann irgendwas passiert?

Dimitri: Ja, wir haben uns gekloppt und, der Michael, der hat ihn verklagt.

I: Wo jetzt auch gerade ein Termin war?

Dimitri: Genau.

I: Waren Sie da auch?

Dimitri: Ich war da auch.

I: Wie war das? Den wieder zu sehen?

Dimitri: Das war ganz schön dreist, der hat sich anders angezogen, der hat sich Haare wachsen lassen, naja. So blöd ist der wahrscheinlich doch nicht [lacht]. Aber naja. Dass er sich, ich bin kein nachtragender Mensch, und mir ist es ziemlich egal, was mit ihm passiert.

I: Haben Sie den nochmal gesehen, auf der Straße?

Dimitri: Auf der Straße nicht, nein. Ich habe ihn nur im Gericht jetzt das letzte Mal gesehen.

I: War das das einzige Mal, dass Ihnen sowas passiert ist?

Dimitri: Das...ja. Das einzige Mal.

I: Und ansonsten hatten Sie nie Probleme?

Dimitri: Nö.

I: Mit anderen Aussiedlern?

Dimitri: Nein.

I: Also hier in der Nachbarschaft ist alles ok?

Dimitri: Alles ok, ja.

I: Ich wollte noch einmal fragen: Sie haben gesagt, dass Sie aus der Ukraine sind und dass Sie sich als Ukrainer sehen und dass... was macht denn das mit Ihnen, wenn Sie sagen, dass Sie aus der Ukraine sind?

Dimitri: Ja, ich mag mein Land. Also, ich würde auch jetzt gerne hin. Aber, da ich, ich habe mich an das Leben hier schon gewöhnt, ich gehe hier zur Schule und ich habe hier meine Freunde. Ich weiß nicht, wie das wäre, wenn ich dort jetzt leben würde. Aber ich würde es gerne ausprobieren. Wie gesagt, für ein paar Jahre wär mal ein Gedanke.

I: Warum, was gefällt Ihnen so gut?

Dimitri: Was gefällt mir? Wie gesagt, da gefallen mir die Leute. Mir gefällt, dass... die ganzen Städte gefallen mir, das Land, das gefällt mir schon sehr.

I: Wie sieht das aus?

Dimitri: Also, meine Oma, die wohnt auf dem Dorf, das gibt es vielleicht einen Laden, wo man, sonst haben da alle Kühe, Hühner, Schweine, und, müssen ihr ganzes Essen selber machen. Und da ist ein See, da kann man immer nach Krebsen tauchen, haben wir letztens gemacht, als wir da waren. Also, sind wir Fischen gegangen, das, das gefällt mir da.

I: Und wie sind die Städte?

Dimitri: Ja, die Städte, da gefallen mir die großen Städte auch. So, Moskau oder St. Petersburg, das sind jetzt zwei russische Städte, aber, ich nimm das irgendwie zusammen, Ukraine und Russland. Nimm ich zusammen.

I: Also wenn ich Sie fragen würde, sind Sie Russe, würden Sie auch ja sagen?

Dimitri: Ja.

I: Ist für Sie das selbe.

Dimitri: Ja, weil, ich bin ja an sich ja auch in einem großen Land geboren worden. Jetzt, rein theoretisch. Das wurde jetzt mit der Zeit ja geteilt, aber.

I: Aber für Sie wäre es das gleiche.

Dimitri: Ja, für mich ist es das gleiche.

I: Und Sie haben gesagt, Ihnen gefallen die Leute da? Sind das Ihre Freunde, die Ihnen gefallen, oder auch die Sie so auf der Straße sehen?

Dimitri: Nein, die, ich, die Leute da sind freundlich. So im Durchschnitt sind die freundlicher als hier, würde ich sagen. Weiß nicht. Die laufen da öfters mit einem Lächeln im Gesicht, die, die freuen sich über die kleinen Dinge. Ja. Bei, bei, da kann man sich über jedes kleine Ding freuen, denn da gibts nicht viel, worüber man sich freuen kann. Hier ist das etwas anders. Hier ist die Situation ja besser als...

I: Aber Deutsche freuen sich nicht?

Dimitri: Doch, doch, natürlich. Aber ich weiß nicht, ich merke das in Russland zumindest besser. Vielleicht ist es ja gar nicht so, ich weiß nicht. Ich weiß nicht, woran das liegt.

I: Können Sie mir den typischen Menschen aus Russland beschreiben? Also, Sie haben eben gesagt, die sind freundlicher, die lächeln mehr, fällt Ihnen noch was ein, was typisch wäre? Vielleicht im Vergleich zu jemandem aus Deutschland?

Dimitri: Hmm. [Überlegt]. Ich weiß nicht, ich kann darauf nicht antworten.

I: Wenn Sie in die Ukraine fahren und dort beschreiben, wie es hier in Deutschland ist- wie beschreiben Sie das, was sagen Sie dann? Wie sind die Leute hier, wie ist das Leben hier?

Dimitri: Wenn mich jemand fragen würde, wie lebts sich dort, dann würd ich sagen es ist teurer und, aber an sich is es... alles in Ordnung. Also, alle leben, alle sind gesund und...

I: Können Sie, also, würde Ihnen ein Unterschied einfallen was die Schulen angeht, die Wohnungen oder?

Dimitri: Ja, die gibts, große Unterschiede. Also, die Schulen, die sind natürlich viel moderner, viel besser ausgerüstet, genauso wie die Wohnungen. Dort fließt das Wasser durch das Haus und, warmes Wasser vielleicht. Also, ich denke ein, also ein typischer Deutscher in Russland, also, ihm würde es da nicht so gut gehen.

I: Nee?

Dimitri: Nein, das glaube ich nicht. Weil er hier allen Luxus, sag ich mal, gewöhnt ist. Und dort gibt's den nicht. Zumindest bei dem Durchschnitt, bei den meisten. Aber andersrum ist es wieder anders. Weil, hier ist es mehr luxuriöser als dort. Deswegen kann es vielen Russen hier besser gehen.

I: Sagen Sie das denen auch so?

Dimitri: Ja. Wahrscheinlich sind hier deswegen in Deutschland auch so viele Einwanderer, Ausländer. Es, so erklär ich mir das, denk ich mir.

I: Und, Sie sind jetzt in der elften Klasse. Haben Sie schon Schwerpunktfächer?

Dimitri: Schwerpunktfächer- Leistungsfächer? Jaja. Ich mach Mathematik und Physik.

I: Wie Michael auch.

Dimitri: Genau.

I: Wollen Sie das vielleicht mal studieren?

Dimitri: Ja, wenn ich davon was auswählen würde, würde ich Physik studieren. Mathematik nicht.

I: Ich hab nochmal ne Frage zu Ihren Freunden. Die meisten von ihnen kommen auch, so wie Sie, aus Russland. Reden Sie mit denen darüber, reden Sie mit denen ob Sie zurück gehen?

Dimitri: Also, wir leben hier an sich fröhlich vor uns hin, sag ich jetzt mal. Wir sind auch an sich zufrieden mit dem Leben. Deswegen brauchen wir nicht über ein anderes Leben zu reden. Was wäre wenn...

I: Ja, aber erzählen Sie sich wie es dort ist oder wie es war?

Dimitri: Ja, manchmal. Manchmal.

I: Und reden Sie auch manchmal darüber, dass Sie sich zum Beispiel als Ukrainer fühlen, obwohl Sie in Deutschland leben? Der Michael gestern hat zu mir gesagt, er denke überhaupt nicht darüber nach. Haben Sie da mal drüber geredet?

Dimitri: Ja, bestimmt mal, vor ner Weile, habe ich bestimmt mal meinen Standpunkt denen erzählt. Aber, groß... das ist bestimmt schon ne Weile her.

I: Was meinen Sie, wie lange ungefähr?

Dimitri: Das weiß ich nicht, kann ich Ihnen nicht sagen.

I: Ist das wichtig für Sie?

Dimitri: Mit meinen Freunden über...?

I: Nee, zu sagen, ich komme aus der Ukraine?

Dimitri: [Überlegt]. Naja, das ist für mich selber wichtig, das zu wissen. Aber das jemand anderem zu erzählen... also, wenn mich jemand fragt würde ich ihm sagen, sag ich mal so.

I: Gefällt Ihnen das auch?

Dimitri: Ja, ich find das gut.

I: Warum?

Dimitri: Weiß ich nicht, würde ich vielleicht wieder sagen, Patriotismus. Also, ich bin froh, Russe zu sein. Ich, also, ich könnte mir irgendwie nicht vorstellen, einem anderen Volk anzugehören. Aber ich weiß nicht, warum. Kann ich Ihnen nicht sagen.

I: Ist ja eigentlich ganz schön, oder?

Dimitri: Ja!

I: Also sind Sie froh, so wie es ist.

Dimitri: Ja.

I: War es auch schon immer so?

Dimitri: Ja. War schon immer so.

I: Oder hatten Sie mal ne Phase wo Sie dachten, ich wäre eigentlich gerne was anderes.

Dimitri: Nee, eigentlich nicht.

I: Gab es mal ne Phase wo Sie sich mehr Gedanken darum gemacht haben als jetzt?

Dimitri: Ja, gibt's ab- und zu, also, ich...

I: Was passiert dann?

Dimitri: Weiß ich nicht, vielleicht hab ich dann hier Probleme und dann überlege ich mir manchmal, was wäre wenn, wenn ich noch in Russland leben würde zum Beispiel. Aber auf eine Antwort komme ich nicht, weil... ich... keine Ahnung.

I: Bei was für Problemen wäre das?

Dimitri: Weiß ich nicht, vielleicht schulische Probleme. Ja, vor allem hab ich manchmal schulische Probleme, mit meinen Eltern.

I: Da fragen Sie sich, ob es anders wäre, wenn Sie in Russland wären.

Dimitri: Ja. Manchmal.

I: Reden Sie mit Ihren Eltern darüber?

Dimitri: Nie.

I: Also, Sie wissen auch nicht, wie das für die ist, hier zu wohnen?

Dimitri: Ach meine Eltern, die sind, die fühlen sich hier gut. Ja, die sagen, hier ist besser als Russland und das ist gut so.

I: Und was machen die, treffen die sich oft mit ihren Verwandten?

Dimitri: Ja.

I: Haben sie Freunde?

Dimitri: Naja, Freunde nicht wirklich. Ihre richtigen Freunde, die sind noch in Russland. Die sind nicht hier. Hier sind nur unsere Verwandte, sozusagen. Aber die haben hier schon Freundschaften geschlossen mit, mit anderen Russen und auch Deutschen.

I: Was glauben Sie, warum sie Deutsch noch nicht so richtig gelernt haben?

Dimitri: Naja, es ist ihnen schwer gefallen. Sie waren da schon etwas älter als wir hierher gezogen sind, da fällt es einem schließlich schwerer, eine Sprache zu lernen. Ich war ja sechs, und, ich, es war ja wie Muttersprache dann, ja. Es war nicht schwer.

I: Aber wenn sie deutsche Freunde zu Besuch haben, können sie sich schon unterhalten?

Dimitri: Oh ja.

I: Sie haben gesagt, so alles in allem sind Sie mit ihrem Leben hier ganz zufrieden. Aber gibt es irgendetwas, was Sie sich wünschen würden, noch hier? Verbesserungsvorschläge?

Dimitri: Nein, eigentlich nicht.

I: Andere haben mir gesagt, dass es in Lobeda keine richtigen Orte gibt, wo man sich treffen kann.

Dimitri: Sehe ich nicht so.

I: Wo gehen Sie hin, so?

Dimitri: Wir gehen Billard spielen oder wir treffen uns bei jemandem zu Hause.

I: Sie gehen Billard spielen- ist hier irgendwo eine Billardkneipe?

Dimitri: Ja, hier in Lobeda West gleich. Unter dem Tunnel durch. Also gleich in meiner Nähe. Was ein Verbesserungsvorschlag wär, da gibts auch einige so Billard, aber das ist auch gleichzeitig eine Spielhalle. Wo der Zutritt ab 18 ist. Und den Micha, wegen seiner etwas kleineren Größe, den lassen Sie da nicht rein.

I: Das heißt, Sie wünschen ihm höhere Schuhe?

Dimitri: [Lacht]. Nein, ich wünsche mir, dieses Limit abzuschaffen. Weil, das ist sinnlos, meiner Meinung nach.

I: Also, Sie kommen da rein?

Dimitri: Ja, ich, ich komm da rein, ich bin ja auch etwas größer [lacht]. Aber, er, da werden die gleich misstrauisch und wollen den Ausweis sehen. Aber wenn wir noch nicht 18 sind...

I: Und warum finden Sie das blödsinnig?

D: Naja, wieso sollte das da sein. Weil, damit meinetwegen irgendwelche Kinder ihr Taschengeld nicht verspielen können. Da muss man denen das erklären, dass man das nicht machen soll, und nicht verbieten, denen da rein zu gehen. Weil wir, wir zum Beispiel, wir wollen, wir interessieren uns nicht an diesen Automaten, wollen nur Billard spielen. Aber... es geht halt nicht.

I: Deswegen müssen Sie in die andere Kneipe gehen.

Dimitri: Genau. Die teurer ist. Deswegen. Das ist ja das Problem.

I: Wie viel kostet das da?

Dimitri: Ja, da kostet es, also, wo wir so gehen kostets 4,50 die Stunde und da nur 3 Euro. Da sparen wir ganz schön.

I: Sonst noch was?

Dimitri: Nein, eigentlich nicht. Sonst bin ich zufrieden.

I: Das, wonach ich Sie jetzt gefragt habe, das ist ein Thema das nennt man ethnische Identität in der Psychologie. Und was ich auch versuche herauszufinden ist, ob das ein Thema ist, das interessant ist?

Dimitri: Psychologie?

I: Nee, Identität, wo kommt man her.

Dimitri: Na, ich weiß nicht, nicht wirklich. Man unterhält sich so über alltägliche Dinge. Eher Schule, was ist passiert, was war los, wie geht's. Aber so wirklich über Identität, Identitätsfragen- eher nicht.

I: War das mal so? Haben Sie sich mal mehr dafür interessiert, vielleicht als Sie jünger waren?

Dimitri: Naja, ich selber frag mich oft. Ja. Aber, jetzt, dass ich mich mit jemandem darüber unterhalte...

I: Nee, das meinte ich ja auch nicht, sondern ich meinte für Sie, persönlich.

Dimitri: Ach so, für mich persönlich?

I: Ja.

Dimitri: Ja, also, da, das ist was anderes. Da gibt es Momente, wo ich mich wirklich frage, was mach ich, was will ich und wozu ich das mache. Und... Da finde [?] ich auch oft eine Antwort.

I: Und das fragen Sie sich dann manchmal, aber alleine, Sie sprechen nicht mit anderen.

Dimitri: Ja, das bespreche ich, naja, ich meine, manchmal bespreche ich das auch mit meinen Eltern, vielleicht mit meinen Freunden. Wenn, wenn ich selber mein Problem nicht lösen kann. Aber das ist ja normal, also, solange ich das selber lösen kann, mach ich das mit mir selbst, sozusagen.

I: Aber es ist jetzt nicht so eine völlig unsinnige Idee, es ist schon was, worüber Sie manchmal nachdenken.

Dimitri: Ja.

I: Ja, weil Michael gestern sagte, das wär ein total blödes Thema. Also, so direkt hat er es nicht gesagt...

Dimitri: [lacht]. Ja, der ist... der denkt nicht so sehr darüber nach wie ich manchmal so. Aber eigentlich ja auch.

I: Der war auch jünger als er kam.

Dimitri: Ja, der war vier, glaub ich.

I: Dann heißt das, dass wir uns nicht völlig umsonst mit diesem Thema beschäftigen...

Dimitri: Nein, das glaube ich nicht

I: ...dann bin ich ja zufrieden und dann bin ich auch fertig.

9.6.4.7 Viktor, 17 Jahre: "Ich habe die deutsche Staatsbürgerschaft, bin aber Russe"

Interview am 04.10.2004 mit Viktor, 17 Jahre. Viktor ist mir von einer anderen Aussiedlerin, Jelena, vermittelt worden. Er selber ist russischer Abstammung- dass sie (seine beste Freundin) ihn ebenfalls als Aussiedler sieht, zeigt, dass die Jugendlichen selber wenig Unterschied machen. Er spricht fehler- und akzentfrei Deutsch- wenn man vom leichten thüringischen Schlag absieht. Das Interview führen wir im Wohnzimmer der Wohnung, kurz unterbrochen von einem vorbeikommenden Freund.

I: Wo sind Sie geboren?

Viktor: Ich bin in St. Petersburg geboren.

I: Wann sind Sie dann hierher gekommen?

Viktor: Das war 92, im Winter 92. Da war ich fünf.

I: Fünf. Können Sie sich daran noch erinnern?

Viktor: Ja. Wir waren auch öfters mal dort so, Urlaub. Und, ja, ich, also, das was ich mit fünf gelernt hab, an der Sprache, das kann ich halt jetzt noch. Ansonsten kann ich Deutsch eigentlich besser als Russisch.

I: Aber können Sie sich an St. Petersburg noch erinnern?

Viktor: Ja. Ich war auch öfters mal dort, seitdem.

I: Können Sie sich noch erinnern wie das war als Sie dann hierher gezogen sind?

Viktor: In welchem Sinn?

I: Hat man Sie zum Beispiel gefragt, sind Sie mit Ihren Eltern hierher gekommen?

Viktor: Ja.

I: Haben Ihre Eltern Sie gefragt, ob Sie nach Deutschland kommen wollen, hat man Ihnen was erzählt über Deutschland?

Viktor: Die wussten selber nix. Es war halt die Möglichkeit, nach Israel zu fahren oder hierher, weil wir auch dort Verwandte haben, und da dort grad Krieg war, sind wir halt hierher. Und, damals, war ich noch nicht fähig, zu entscheiden oder zu beurteilen, ob das gut ist oder nicht. Weil, da drin hatte ich noch nicht so ne große Erfahrung.

I: Also wissen Sie auch nicht, ob Sie sich gefreut haben oder ob Sie Angst hatten.

Viktor: Hmm, ich war neugierig.

I: Sie waren neugierig?

Viktor: Ja.

I: Neugierig worauf?

Viktor: Auf Deutschland, auf die Sprache, auf das Leben hier.

I: Sie sind nur mit Ihren Eltern gekommen oder waren noch andere dabei?

Viktor: Mit meiner Schwester.

I: Und Sie sagen, Sie hatten schon Verwandte hier?

Viktor: Nee, das nicht.

I: Aber in Israel.

Viktor: Ja.

I: Und wieso gabs die Möglichkeit, nach Deutschland zu gehen?

Viktor: Na, das war irgendwie, das, nach dem Fall der DDR halt, wurde gesagt, kommt alle her, praktisch, und da gab es dann halt die Möglichkeit, einzureisen, und da es uns in Russland nicht ganz so gut ging, haben meine Eltern beschlossen, halt hierher zu kommen.

I: Haben Sie deutsche Vorfahren?

Viktor: Nee.

I: Dann sind Sie kein Aussiedler?

Viktor: Ist man Aussiedler, wenn man deutsche Vorfahren hat?

I: Wenn man deutsche Vorfahren hat und dann auch hierher zieht und den deutschen Pass bekommt.

Viktor: Den deutschen Pass habe ich.

I: Aber Sie wissen nicht, ob Sie als Aussiedler gekommen sind?

Viktor: Glaube ich nicht, nein.

I: Sie waren dann fünf, als Sie hier angekommen sind. Wie ging es dann weiter?

Viktor: Ja, wir sind halt in ein Aussiedlerheim gekommen, das in Gumperda, in der Nähe von Kahla, und lebten dort ein Jahr, da ging ich dann mit meiner Schwester in Kahla auf die Schule, und dort haben wir dann auch nach dem Unterricht immer Deutschunterricht gehabt. Es ging eigentlich recht schnell, die Sprache lernen. N halbes Jahr oder so.

I: Ein halbes Jahr?

Viktor: Höchstens.

I: Ging das gleich schnell bei Ihnen und Ihrer Schwester?

Viktor: Ja, ungefähr.

I: Und das haben Sie dann in der Schule gelernt. Waren Sie auch im Kindergarten hier?

Viktor: Ja, war ich.

I: Haben Sie daran Erinnerungen?

Viktor: Sehr lau, also, nicht wirklich.

I: In St. Petersburg, waren Sie da im Kindergarten?

Viktor: Ja, etwas noch, ja. So Bruchstücke.

I: Aber jetzt nicht so, dass Sie das genauer beschreiben könnten, ob da ein Unterschied war zwischen dem deutschen und dem russischen Kindergarten.

Viktor: Unterschied war da, auf jeden Fall, also, die hygienischen, äh, Sachen, natürlich, also, da war alles viel älter in Russland, waren mehr Leute- also, mehr Kinder im Kindergarten, und, ja, da war halt ganz großer Raum, Essenssaal, da gingen alle rein, das weiß ich noch. Also, und hier in Deutschland waren die Erzieherinnen netter. Das weiß ich noch.

I: Obwohl Sie am Anfang die Sprache gar nicht verstanden.

Viktor: Nee, das nicht, aber die waren da recht tolerant.

I: Das heißt, Sie kamen nach Deutschland und konnten gar kein Deutsch.

Viktor: Ja.

I: Konnten Ihre Eltern ein bisschen Deutsch?

Viktor: Hm-hm [verneinend].

I: Und dann sind Sie in die Schule gekommen hier in Deutschland.

Viktor: Ja.

I: Und dann konnten Sie aber schon Deutsch?

Viktor: N paar Worte, also. Gelernt, so richtig gelernt, hab ich das dann in der Schule.

I: Und wie war das, also, dadurch, dass Sie am Anfang die Sprache nicht konnten?

Viktor: Ja, das war ein bisschen schwer am Anfang. Wie für alle aus unserem Heim, eigentlich. Sich da einzuleben. Weil... natürlich die Toleranz nicht so hoch war und die Verständnismöglichkeit auch nicht. Aber, ja, sobald ich dann halt die Sprache beherrscht hab, hab auch n paar Freunde gefunden, und Deutsch gelernt und... da ging das schon leichter.

I: Was meinen Sie mit „dass die Toleranz nicht so hoch war“?

Viktor: Ja. Was halt so ist gegenüber Ausländern, dass man da, obwohl es noch Kinder waren, eventuell von Eltern oder so mitgekriegt dass Sprüche gelassen haben, gehänselt haben, zum Teil, also.

I: Die Eltern oder die Kinder?

Viktor: Nee, die Kinder. Also, ein paar, nicht uns alle.

I: Hat das lange angehalten, gehänselt werden?

Viktor: Schon, ja. Bei manchen länger, bei manchen weniger.

I: Wie lange, bei Ihnen?

Viktor: Das waren vielleicht die ersten beiden Jahre. In der Grundschule. Ab da hat's eigentlich abgenommen.

I: In welcher Klasse sind Sie jetzt?

Viktor: Ich bin jetzt in der zehnten.

I: Und passiert das da auch noch?

Viktor: Überhaupt nicht. Ich wär ja jetzt eigentlich in der zwölften, aber, ich hatte lange Zeit nicht begriffen, dass ichs für mich selbst mache und deswegen zwei Jahre verloren- aber mittlerweile habe ich mich in der Schule jetzt gut eingefunden, versteh mich jetzt sogar gut mit den Lehrern und mit den Schülern sowieso. Also, da gibts überhaupt keine Probleme.

I: Auf welcher Schule sind Sie?

Viktor: Auf der Ostschule.

I: Ist das ein Gymnasium?

Viktor: Nee, das ist Regelschule. Ich geh dann später aufs Gymnasium, nach der zehnten.

I: Also wollen Sie aufs Gymnasium?

Viktor: Auf jeden Fall.

I: Abitur machen.

Viktor: Ja. Ich will ja studieren. Da muss ich dann...

I: Was wollen Sie denn studieren?

Viktor: Ich will mittelalterliche Geschichte studieren.

I: Mittelalterliche Geschichte?!

Viktor: Mittelalterliche Geschichte.

I: Wie kommen Sie denn darauf?

Viktor: Ja, ich hab Bücher gelesen, Dokumentationen geschaut, so, und irgendwann hab ich gemerkt, das ist, dass diese Zeit mich irgendwie viel mehr interessiert als die jetzige oder eine andere, und da hab ich gedacht, damit ich damit mehr in meinem Leben konfrontiert werde kann ich ja irgendwas im Beruf damit machen, und da muss ich das studieren, also. Auch um besser über die Zeit Bescheid zu wissen.

I: Das heißt, Sie sind jetzt hier seitdem Sie fünf sind...

Viktor: Hmm [zustimmend].

I: ...und Sie sind aber öfter mal zurück gefahren.

Viktor: Nicht öfter, aber so drei, vier mal.

I: Und wie war das, wie lange sind Sie dann geblieben?

Viktor: Zwei bis drei Wochen.

I: Wo sind Sie dann gewesen?

Viktor: Sind wir dann bei meinem Opa immer, der hat da ne Wohnung, der lebt da auch noch. Und, ja, bei dem haben wir immer gewohnt. Ansonsten war ich einmal bei Verwandten aufm Dorf, drei Wochen lang. Das war halt, ganz nett. Ne Tagesreise von St. Petersburg entfernt.

I: Und wie gefällt es Ihnen in St. Petersburg?

Viktor: Hmm, sagen wir mal so, wenn man da als Tourist hinkommt, dann ist es natürlich was ganz anderes. So deutsche Touristen die in Hotels wohnen, oder anderssprachige Touristen, die

sehen ja nicht wirklich die Stadt an sich, die sehen nur die schönen Seiten der Stadt. Und, ich muss sagen, mir gefällt die Stadt nicht so sehr. Klar, ist das meine Heimatstadt, deswegen mag ich sie natürlich auch, aber schön ist sie nicht wirklich. Weil... mir gefallen zwar die alten Häuser und so und Paläste, jedoch ist das halt alles nicht renoviert und zerfällt alles und das ist halt traurig. Das find ich nicht schön.

I: Und was machen Sie da, wenn Sie da zu Besuch sind?

Viktor: Ja, also, die letzten Male, da weil mich das alles irgendwie nicht wirklich interessierte, da saß ich halt die meiste Zeit bei meinem Opa zu Hause, hab halt gar nix getan, gelesen vielleicht. Aber mittlerweile würd ich och die ganzen Paläste und Museen besichtigen wollen. Also, wenn ich das nächste Mal mitfahre. Weil, meine Mutter rennt mit meiner Schwester immer durch ganz St. Petersburg und guckt sich alles immer wieder an und da würd ich dann mit.

I: Gibts denn schon einen Plan, wann es das nächste Mal hingeht?

Viktor: Hm-hm [verneinend].

I: Das heißt Sie sprechen immer noch beide Sprachen?

Viktor: Hm [bejahend].

I: Aber Deutsch ist Muttersprache?

Viktor: Hm [bejahend].

I: Telefonieren Sie manchmal mit Ihrem Opa?

Viktor: Hm. Ich hab ja zwei Opas, mit dem einen, bei dem wir immer wohnen, das ist der Vater mütterlicherseits, mit dem selten, weil, so einen guten Kontakt hab ich nicht zu ihm. Der vertritt n bisschen andere Ansichten als ich im Leben. Aber, mit dem Vater väterlicherseits versteh ich mich sehr gut. Mit dem telefonier ich zwar selten, aber umso, äh, umso lieber? Ja, lieber. Und der kommt auch öfters mal her.

I: Ach so, der besucht Sie?

Viktor: Ja, ja. Und, also, der wohnt dann meistens bei meiner Oma, die in Köln wohnt, und dann kommen sie öfters mal hierher oder wir fahren halt hoch nach Köln.

I: Ist sie neu verheiratet, ihre Oma?

Viktor: Hm-hm [verneinend].

I: Wie gut sprechen Sie denn noch Russisch?

Viktor: Also, verstehen kann ich alles. Sprechen kann ich, naja, das, eigentlich recht gut. Also, ich kann mich mit meiner Mutter verständigen, mit anderen russischen Freunden, eigentlich ganz normal.

I: Welche Sprache sprechen Sie denn zu Hause?

Viktor: Mit meiner Schwester Deutsch und mit meiner Mutter Russisch.

I: Und was ist, wenn Sie alle zusammen sind?

Viktor: Meistens dann Russisch.

I: Wenn ich Sie fragen würde, sind Sie Russe, was würden Sie dann sagen?

Viktor: [Zögert]. Wenn Sie mich fragen würden, ob ich Russe bin, würde ich sagen: Ja.

I: Und wenn ich Sie fragen würde, ob Sie Deutscher sind?

Viktor: Da würd ich sagen [zögert] ich habe zwar die deutsche Staatsbürgerschaft und leb hier, bin aber Russe. Weil für mich zählt immer wo ich geboren bin und wo ich herkomme und ich weiß ich gehör auf dem Papier, das reicht aber nicht.

I: Und wo möchten Sie gerne mal wohnen später?

Viktor: Italien.

I: [Lacht]. Wie kommt das?

Viktor: Ja, die Landschaft, die Mentalität, die Leute, das ist einfach viel schöner. Das Klima. Der Wein [lacht]. Ich find die Lebensart da viel angenehmer. Alle kompromissloser, so lockerer.

I: Und wenn Sie sich entscheiden müssten jetzt zwischen Deutschland und Russland?

Viktor: Dann würde ich doch eher Deutschland.

I: Warum?

Viktor: Weil hier das Lebensniveau einfach viel höher ist. Hier kann man sich natürlich viel mehr leisten. In Russland gibt es halt nur die Kluft zwischen reich und arm. Mittelschicht gibts da gar nicht. Und hier hat man halt die Möglichkeit, was aus sich zu machen.

I: Das heißt, Sie würden gern in Deutschland wohnen- also wenn jetzt diese beiden Länder- würden aber trotzdem sagen, Sie sind Russe?

Viktor: Ja.

I: Und kein Stück Deutsch?

Viktor: Hmm. Vielleicht ein wenig. Weil, ich bin ja schließlich mit den Gepflogenheiten hier aufgewachsen und... hab halt eher die deutsche Lebensart kennen gelernt als die russische. Von daher denk ich, zum Teil auch ein bisschen Deutsch.

I: Haben Sie da mal drüber nachgedacht, was Sie eigentlich sind?

Viktor: So direkt hab ich da nicht drüber nachgedacht. Für mich war jetzt immer ich komm aus Russland und leb in Deutschland. Mehr war da nicht.

I: Werden Sie da manchmal zu gefragt von Leuten?

Viktor: Zu was?

I: Wo Sie herkommen und wie Sie sich fühlen?

Viktor: Oft, ja. Also, nicht wie ich mich fühle, weil ich leb ja schließlich schon lange hier, aber wo ich herkomme, wie das da so ist, dann gehts immer dass ich irgendwas auf Russisch sagen soll, das ist typisch ja. Aber ansonsten eigentlich weniger.

I: War das schon immer so, dass Sie gesagt haben, Sie sind Russe?

Viktor: Hmm, früher hat es mich eigentlich weniger interessiert. Aber mittlerweile ist das Gefühl gestiegen weil es ist mir bewusster geworden, wo ich herkomme, wie viel das Wert ist, so was zu schätzen. Ich meine, nicht jeder kommt aus St. Petersburg.

I: Wodurch ist Ihnen das bewusster geworden?

Viktor: Durch mein Alter. Ich bin reifer geworden, denk ich.

I: Denken Sie, dass das so bleiben wird? Also, wenn ich Sie in drei Jahren nochmal frage, sehen Sie sich dann immer noch als „Russisch“?

Viktor: Ich denk mal, das wird sich nie ändern. Weil, man kann seine Herkunft nicht ablegen.

I: Aber es könnte ja sein, dass Sie noch mehr Deutsch werden.

Viktor: Hm. [Zögert]. Weiß nicht. Also, mehr als jetzt denk ich nicht, weil das was ich jetzt weiß von Deutschland und das was ich annehmen will, das nehme ich auch an und, ja, alles andere, im Endeffekt kenn ich auch noch Traditionen aus Russland und verhalt mich manchmal auch noch so.

I: Können Sie das beschreiben, so ein „russisches“ Verhalten?

Viktor: Hmm. Ja. Wenn man mit Freunden zusammen ist, dann trinkt man öfter mal was als, zum Beispiel, was weiß ich, deutsche Jugendliche. Da ist das vielleicht mit Alkopops oder sowas. Und bei uns ist halt überwiegend Bier und bei meinen Freunden halt Wodka. Wobei das nicht mehr so wirklich meins ist. Da hab ich eigentlich die Schnauze voll davon, weil ich weiß nicht, ich trink halt nur das, was mir schmeckt. Wobei Bier auch ein deutsches Volksgetränk ist, kann man auch sagen, also, ich weiß nicht, ich weiß nicht, wie ich das jetzt beschreiben soll. Es gibt halt die Seite und die Seite.

I: Ja, aber jetzt für jemanden der vom Mars kommt und überhaupt keine Ahnung hat, was es da für Unterschiede gibt, was würden Sie denn da sagen?

Viktor: Vielleicht... Ordnung.

I: Ordnung ist deutscher oder russischer?

Viktor: Deutscher. Deutscher. Ja. Und ansonsten... also, mir fällt jetzt direkt nix ein.

I: Wo kommen denn Ihre Freunde her?

Viktor: Welche, die deutschsprachigen oder die?

I: Haben Sie beide?

Viktor: Ich hab überwiegend deutschsprachige Freunde. Aber die deutschen, äh, Quatsch, die russischen kommen halt aus der Ukraine, aus Sibirien, die Irena, zum Beispiel. Ansonsten halt auch aus Russland, russische Städte, kleinere Städte da.

I: Wissen Sie, ob das mehr Ausländer oder Aussiedler sind?

Viktor: Hm. Die meisten sind Ausländer, glaub ich, aber ein paar darunter sind Aussiedler. Direkt weiß ichs nicht, das hab ich nie gefragt. Für mich hat sich diese Frage nie gestellt, Russe ist Russe, von daher.

I: Sie haben gesagt, Sie haben mehr deutsche als russische Freunde. Woher kennen Sie Ihre Freunde?

Viktor: Schule. Party. Also, durch die Schule hab ich halt Leute kennen gelernt, durch die Leute bin ich mit auf Feiern gegangen irgendwohin, dort neue Leute kennen gelernt und immer so weiter und weiter und irgendwann hab ich irgendwie so ein Selbstbewusstsein erreicht, dass ich keine Angst mehr hatte, auf Leute zuzugehen. Das heißt, ich habe auch kein Problem, neue Leute kennen zu lernen. Wenn ich wo bin, wo mich niemand kennt, dann stell ich mich vor, trink mit denen n Bier und dann kenn ich sie halt und. Deswegen fällts mir auch schwer von vielen die Namen zu behalten, weil ich halt viel zu viele Leute kenne.

I: Und die Freunde die Sie haben, was machen Sie so mit denen?

Viktor: Ja, na, überwiegend muss man sagen sind's Kumpels eher. Dann gehn ma halt feiern, trinken einen, Billard spielen, und, ja, Fitnessstudio. Mehr nicht eigentlich. Mehr gibts aber auch nicht zu machen.

I: Welche Sprache sprechen Sie da untereinander?

Viktor: Deutsch.

I: Auch mit den russischen Freunden?

Viktor: Äh, mit den russischen Freunden mit manchen Deutsch mit manchen Russisch. Kommt drauf an, wer wie lange hier ist. Wer welche Sprache besser beherrscht. Leute, die natürlich älter sind und in nem späteren Alter hierher gekommen sind, dann sprech ich mit denen Russisch, weil denen das auch leichter fällt. Ansonsten dann Deutsch.

I: Haben Sie einen besten Freund?

Viktor: Ja.

I: Ist das ein Deutscher oder?

Viktor: Nee, das ist ein Ukrainer. Den hab ich kennen gelernt, wo ich hierher kam. Also, das war der erste gleich, den ich im Aussiedlerheim kennen gelernt habe, praktisch seit zwölf Jahren sind wir die besten Freunde. Und ich denk mal, das wird auch noch einige Jahre so bleiben.

I: Gehen Sie zusammen zur Schule?

Viktor: Nee, früher. Aber der ist jetzt raus, der ist 19.

I: Wohnt der hier noch?

Viktor: Ja, der wohnt in, im Damenviertel.

I: Haben Sie eine beste Freundin?

Viktor: Hm [bejahend].

I: Ist das eine Deutsche oder?

Viktor: Nee, das ist ne Russin, Irina.

I: Haben Sie eine Freundin?

Viktor: Ja, die ist Deutsch.

I: Die ist Deutsch.

Viktor: Ja.

I: Wie kommt das?

Viktor: Sie ist in der Klasse von nem guten Freund. Und, also, den ich auch schon seit damals kenne. Und wir sind halt Billard spielen gegangen. Und da hab ich gemeint, hier, ruf halt mal n paar Mädels an, mag mal n paar neue kennen lernen. Und da hat er sie angerufen, sie ist in seiner Klasse, und dann hab ich sie kennen gelernt und dann kam eins zum andern und dann, ja, kamen wir halt zusammen, drei Tage später. Und jetzt sind wir bereits in vier Tagen sieben Monate zusammen.

I: So genau wissen Sie das... Und, und das ist auch vollkommen in Ordnung, also Ihre Freunde nehme sie so mit auf und...

Viktor: Ja, klar. Sie hat auch den selben Freundeskreis.

I: Hatten Sie auch schon mal ne russische Freundin?

Viktor: Nee, hatte ich noch nicht.

I: Können Sie sich das vorstellen?

Viktor: Vorstellen ja. Damit hätt ich kein Problem. Im Prinzip denk ich würds meiner Mutter auch gefallen, weil könnte sie auch mit ihr auf Russisch sprechen und so, und nicht immer dieses hin- und her übersetzen und das. Aber, ja, für mich macht es ja keinen Unterschied.

I: Kann Ihre Mutter nicht so gut Deutsch?

Viktor: Doch. Eigentlich, also, so, sagen wir mal so, sie versteht's eher besser als sprechen kann sie- sie spricht natürlich mit Akzent und spricht manches etwas falsch aus, aber ansonsten kann sie ziemlich gut Deutsch. Also, sie kann alles sagen, was sie will.

I: Wenn Sie so mit Ihren Kumpels unterwegs sind, sind das dann gemischte Gruppen, oder machen Sie mal was mit den Deutschen und mal was mit den Russischen?

Viktor: Das sind eher gemischte Gruppen. Ja, also, meistens halt die Runde aus Lobeda so, wenn wir da irgendwie grillen gehn, da sind halt Deutsche dabei, Russen dabei, und dann sprechen wir alle Deutsch untereinander. Manchmal halt Russisch, wenn irgendwas Persönliches ist oder so, weil wir's halt lustig finden, was auf Russisch zu sagen, dann sagen wir's auf Russisch. Gibt sogar nen Georgier, der spricht halt auch Russisch.

I: Was sagen die deutschen Freunde dazu, wenn sie nichts mehr verstehen?

Viktor: Hm. Entweder denen ist das egal, weil wir nix dann zu denen sagen, oder sie sagen, heh, spricht mal so das alle das verstehen, so halt, spaßig halt, also, die nehmen das nicht ernst.

I: Das heißt zwischen Ihnen gibts keine Probleme.

Viktor: Hm-hm [verneinend]. Überhaupt nicht.

I: Gibts Probleme mit anderen Deutschen?

Viktor: Also bei mir im Prinzip nicht. Ich kenn auch, halt viele Leute, und deswegen gibts da wenig Probleme. Bei manchen vielleicht schon, ja. Gabs Geschichten, da, aber irgendwie so. Die Rewe-Elite.

I: Die Rewe-Elite? So heißen die?

Viktor: Ja, so nennen wir die. Die halt jeden Tag vor Rewe hocken. Es zu nix gebracht haben und deswegen denken, Sie müssen das an anderen Menschen auslassen. Die lassen das halt lieber an Ausländern aus. Gabs öfters mal schon Rangeleien. War ich aber selten dabei.

I: Das sind auch Jugendliche?

Viktor: Ja. Auch. Aber, nur die Jugendlichen machen halt nicht den Stress, im Prinzip. Also, wenn ich da Probleme mit solchen Leuten hatte, dann eher persönlicherseits und nicht irgendwie weil ich Ausländer war.

I: Und in der Schule, hatten Sie in der Schule mal Probleme?

Viktor: Hm, in welcher, ich war jetzt schon in drei. Also, in der ersten Schule, das war die A. Brehm, da sind ja auch ziemlich viele Ausländer drauf, und deswegen gabs da eigentlich weniger. Weniger Probleme. Dann bin ich da in Lobeda Ost auf die Döbereiner, die ist geschlossen worden, gegangen. Da gabs ab- und zu mal Probleme.

I: Mit anderen Jugendlichen oder mit Lehrern?

Viktor: Beides. Aber Jugendliche halt auch wegen Ausländer und so. Manchmal aber nur und ernsthaft nix. Haben sie sich irgendwie nie getraut oder so. Wollten keinen Stress haben mit den Lehrern oder was weiß ich. Naja, aber seitdem ich auf die Ostschule gekommen bin, versteh ich mich eigentlich auch mit den Leuten die eigentlich was gegen Ausländer haben. Weil, ich tret denen offen entgegen und sag, hier, ich will keinen Stress und, ich glaub auch nicht, dass wir uns streiten müssen, geb ihnen die Hand, stell mich vor, wenns da irgendwas gab, von daher. Es sind ja auch nicht so viele Leute auf der Schule drauf, und deswegen kenn ich den überwiegenden Teil auch. Ja, und da kommts ganz zwangsläufig, dass man sich dann auch kennen lernt.

I: Die, die was gegen Ausländer haben oder wie?

Viktor: Die sagen, dass sie was gegen Ausländer haben. Sagen wir mal so, ich denke och, dass das so ne Phase ist, ich glaub, dann werden se's raffen. Aber ich geb denen die Hand, quatsch n bisschen mit denen wenn ich sie treffe, und das reicht dann auch. Also, Stress gibts da nicht.

I: Also, wenn Sie so erzählen in Ihrer Gruppe, dass da Leute dabei sind, aus Sibirien und Georgien und Russland, sind da auch andere Ausländer noch dabei, aus Italien oder aus der Türkei oder was weiß ich?

Viktor: Ich kenn, einen kenn ich italienischer Abstammung. Aber der ist hier aufgewachsen spricht nur Deutsch. Aber so in unserer Gruppe eigentlich nicht.

I: Woher kommt das?

Viktor: Weiß nicht. Weil hier scheinbar nur ehemalige Sowjetbürger wohnen. Also, so aus der Gegend halt. Und dass sie alle Russisch sprechen oder Deutsch, und dadurch kommt's halt. Das wir uns halt verständigen können, und deswegen machen wir zusammen was.

I: Das heißt auf der Schule haben Sie auch nicht viele Ausländer aus anderen Gebieten.

Viktor: Wir hatten, da, da ist ja ein Aussiedlerheim in der Nähe, aber mittlerweile sind die ja weggezogen, also, nach Lobeda oder sonstwohin, und gehen jetzt auf andere Schulen, und deswegen gibts bei uns nur noch sehr wenige Ausländer auf unserer Schule.

I: Können Sie Aussiedler oder Russen erkennen auf der Straße?

Viktor: Meistens. Aber nicht bei allen. Mir sagt man ja auch, dass man's nicht sieht oder dass man's nicht hört oder so. Also, bei manchen kann man's noch sehen, bei den meisten aber denk ich, ne, das ist bestimmt kein Deutscher oder so.

I: Können Sie erklären, woran Sie das sehen?

Viktor: Nee, das kann ich absolut nicht erklären. Ich hab mir oft die Frage gestellt, was an denen eigentlich anders ist. Irgendwie die, die Gesichtszüge, Ausdruck, irgendwie sowas halt, ich weiß nicht, ich kann das nicht erklären.

I: Geht Ihnen das bei allen so, also bei Jungs und bei Mädchen, bei Erwachsenen und bei Jugendlichen?

Viktor: Also bei Jugendlichen ist es leichter, muss ich sagen, ja.

I: Warum?

Viktor: Vermutlich weil ich selber ein Jugendlicher bin und deswegen halt Bezug zu Jugendlichen hab und das, ja, eher kenne. Und, ja, bei Mädchen, doch, bei Mädchen kann man das auch erkennen. Weiß auch nicht warum, aber ist so. Man sieht's.

I: Also, das sagen alle. Alle sagen, genau das, was Sie auch sagen, und alle sagen, ich habe keine Ahnung, warum. Deswegen frage ich so genau.

Viktor: Ich meine, im Prinzip erkennt man ja auch Südländer oder andere Völkergruppen, weil sie halt einen ganz anderen Ausdruck haben, ganz andere Gesichtszüge wie halt Deutsche oder Amerikaner oder was weiß ich.

I: Ja, aber Sie leben seit Ihrem fünften Lebensjahr hier...

Viktor: Ja.

I: ... und sagen, dass Sie das trotzdem erkennen. Und andere leben dann ja auch seit ihrem fünften Lebensjahr hier oder so. Also eigentlich müsste man doch denken, die haben schon ganz viel angenommen von hier.

Viktor: Weiß nicht. Das liegt wahrscheinlich im Blut. Die, das eigene Volk zu erkennen [lacht]. Ich weiß nicht.

I: Können Sie sich den vorstellen, wenn Sie in St. Petersburg sind, würden Sie da auch Deutsche erkennen?

Viktor: Ich würd Ausländer erkennen. Aber ob sie dann Deutsch sind, kann ich nicht sagen.

I: Gut. Also, Sie stellen sich vor, dass Sie irgendwann mal mittelalterliche Geschichte studieren. Und wo?

Viktor: Möglich, also, am liebsten in Jena. Weil, ich möchte nicht irgendwo ewig hinfahren müssen. Wäre halt am praktischsten. Aber ansonsten muss ich halt schauen, wo es das gibt. Am besten irgendwo in der Nähe.

I: Gefällt es Ihnen in Jena?

Viktor: An sich ja. An sich ist Jena ne schöne Stadt. Nur für meine Verhältnisse dann noch zu groß.

I: Zu groß?

Viktor: Zu groß. Ich würd eher lieber dann auf'm Dorf wohnen oder so.

I: Haben Sie schon ein Dorf, wo Sie gerne wohnen würden?

Viktor: Ja, ich weiß nicht, so n 500-Seelen-Dorf, oder so. Muss nicht weit von der Stadt weg sein. Wenn man n Auto hat, so in zehn Minuten da, in der Stadt sein. Ist halt ganz einfach, ist ruhiger, die Luft ist besser, die Lärmbelastung ist nicht so hoch, ist romantischer natürlich, mit großen Wäldern drumherum, und, find ich einfach schön.

I: Wäre Ihnen das nicht zu einsam oder langweilig?

Viktor: Nee, nee. Ich lieb die Einsamkeit.

I: Also so stellen Sie sich das vor: Sie haben dann mittelalterliche Geschichte studiert und ziehen auf irgendein Dorf...

Viktor: Na, wie ich mir das vorstelle, das ist noch wieder was ganz anderes. Da würd ich lieber in nem Schloss wohnen, nem alten. Aber so, man muss ja n bisschen realistisch bleiben.

I: Haben Sie noch andere Verwandte in Deutschland außer Ihren Eltern?

Viktor: Ja, also meine Oma mütterlicherseits und mein Onkel.

I: Die leben in Köln. Beide?

Viktor: Ja.

I: Waren Sie mal da?

Viktor: Oft, ja.

I: Und wie gefällt's Ihnen da?

Viktor: Überhaupt nicht.

I: Nee?

Viktor: Hm-hm [verneinend]. Überhaupt nicht. Das ist dreckig, groß, laut. Ist halt so noch schlimmer als Lobeda eigentlich. Und deswegen, nee, das gefällt mir überhaupt nicht. Ach, und mein Vater wohnt noch in dort, in Köln, das hab ich vergessen. Meine Eltern sind ja geschieden. Und da ist er dann nach Köln gezogen.

I: Kennen Sie noch andere Städte in Deutschland?

Viktor: Einige. Ich war auch schon in sehr vielen Städten, ob nun zu Konzerten oder einfach so mal hingefahren. Ja. Saßen halt so mal in der Stadt rum, und da kam halt n Kumpel, der hat gesagt, lass uns wohin fahren. Sind wir in den Zug gestiegen und halt wohin gefahren, deswegen kam ich viel rum schon mittlerweile.

I: Gibt es irgendwelche Städte wo Sie sagen, das würde Ihnen auch gefallen?

Viktor: [Überlegt]. Also, da find ich Jena immer noch am besten.

I: Nochmal zurück zur Herkunftsfrage. Reden Sie da manchmal mit Ihrer Mutter drüber, also, dass Sie sich russisch fühlen, jetzt mit der deutschen Freundin, oder dass sie nicht fließend oder akzentfrei Deutsch spricht?

Viktor: Das ist eigentlich überhaupt kein Thema.

I: Reden Sie manchmal darüber wie's gewesen wäre, wenn Sie nicht hierher gekommen wären?

Viktor: Also es wird ganz selten mal, also, zwei-drei Mal wurde es vielleicht mal angesprochen, was wäre wenn, dann wären wir halt in Israel, und, ja, mehr haben wir da eigentlich nicht drüber gesprochen. Das ist eigentlich och kein Thema.

I: Glauben Sie, dass Ihre Mutter sich hier wohl fühlt?

Viktor: Ja. Ja, doch. Also, sie hat zwar, natürlich, Heimweh n bisschen, denk ich mal. Weil sie ist ja Jahrzehnte dort gewesen, hat dort Sport gemacht, studiert, gelehrt. Ich denk mal, man vermisst das doch. Aber, sie ist auch froh, hier zu sein. Sie hat jetzt auch nen Freund, nen deutschen. Und hat sich eigentlich auch ganz gut eingelebt.

I: Hat sie Arbeit?

Viktor: Hm [bejahend].

I: Und Ihre Schwester, ist die älter oder jünger?

Viktor: Die ist älter.

I: Die ist älter. Und wie ist das mit der, was haben Sie für ein Verhältnis?

Viktor: Hm. Also, früher war das schlimm, wie halt bei jeder Bruder-Schwester-Beziehung. Streit und so, aber, mittlerweile verstehen wir uns richtig gut und haben zum großen Teil die selben Ansichten vom Leben. Sie studiert jetzt auch, also, hat grad angefangen.

I: Jetzt gerade, also, in diesem Monat?

Viktor: Ja, genau.

I: Und was?

Viktor: Die macht irgendwie Magister, und macht da glaub ich Kunstgeschichte. Ostslawistik, und noch was, weiß ich jetzt nicht mehr.

I: Ihre Mutter hat auch studiert, haben Sie gesagt, was hat die studiert?

Viktor: Chemie. Ja, doch Chemie. Und jetzt gerade arbeite sie als Biochemikerin.

I: Ah ok, das heißt sie ist in ihrem Beruf. Gibt es irgendetwas, wo Sie sagen, dass müsste man eigentlich noch machen für Aussiedler oder Russen, wenn die hier nach Deutschland kommen, da müsste man sie noch ein bisschen mehr unterstützen? Oder in Ihrem Fall, hätte es was gegeben?

Viktor: Eigentlich war ich so recht zufrieden, doch. Also, man wird herzlich empfangen, im Großen und Ganzen, man bekommt ja wie ich jetzt irgendwie, ich weiß nicht genau, aber man bekommt irgendwie Startgeld. Und- was soll man mehr machen?

I: Sie haben die Sprachkurse noch bekommen, nicht?

Viktor: Ja, die Sprachkurse, die bekommt man auch jetzt noch, also, in der Schule dann. Und, das macht ja jede Schule für sich selbst aus, im Prinzip, wie sie das anstellen wollen. Ich find's halt n bisschen lächerlich in unsrer Schule gemacht, weil, da wird von Anfang an kommt man da in die Klasse, muss einige Unterrichtsstunden mit der Klasse verbringen, und den Rest halt im Deutschunterricht. Aber, wenn man überhaupt nicht die Sprache kann, da lohnt sich das ja nicht

[Es klingelt an der Tür. Ein Freund kommt vorbei, möchte sich etwas leihen, sie verabreden sich für später, er bleibt aber in der Wohnung])

Also, ich finde man sollte am Anfang nur den Deutschkurs machen und später erst die Leute in die Klasse einführen, damit sie halt auch während des Unterrichts die Sprache lernen. Aber am Anfang ergibt das für mich überhaupt keinen Sinn.

I: Das wurde bei Ihnen auch anders gemacht, oder. Ach nee, Sie konnten schon ein bisschen.

Viktor: Nee, bei uns war das, sofern ich weiß, voller Unterricht und nach dem Unterricht der Deutschkurs.

I: War das besser?

Viktor: Fand ich nicht, weil ich saß im Unterricht da und hab halt nichts verstanden.

I: Und hier in Jena, oder in Lobeda, gibt es da irgendwas, das Jugendliche noch brauchen würden?

Viktor: Hm. Weiß ich nicht, weil manche sagen Jugendclubs oder so, aber das sind keine Sachen für mich, das brauch ich nicht. Ich hab meine Freunde, und ich brauch nix weiter.

[Der Freund S. kommt rein, wird vorgestellt, erschrickt sich über das Aufnahmegerät, will gehen, aber Viktor sagt, er komme gleich].

I: Das war sowieso meine letzte Frage.

9.6.4.8 Konstantin, 16 Jahre: "Also, eigentlich bin ich ein Mischling"

Interview mit Konstantin, 16 Jahre in der Innenstadt von Jena. K spricht mit rollendem „r.“

I: Als erstes würde mich interessieren, wo Sie geboren sind?

Konstantin: Ich bin in Kasachstan geboren. Das ist, so in der Nähe von Kostanay [?]. In der Nähe von Russland, da.

I: Sind Sie auch Kasache?

Konstantin: Nee, ich hab da acht Jahre gelebt, dann nach Russland umgezogen.

I: Ja?

Konstantin: Vier Jahre dort, und jetzt fast fünf Jahre in Deutschland.

I: Das heißt, wie alt waren Sie, als Sie nach Deutschland gekommen sind?

Konstantin: Ich war damals zwölf Jahre alt.

I: Zwölf. Und jetzt sind Sie?

Konstantin: Sechzehn. Ich werd im November siebzehn. Im Dezember bin ich dann fünf Jahre in Deutschland.

I: Im Dezember sind Sie fünf Jahre in Deutschland?

Konstantin: Ja.

I: Auch die ganzen fünf Jahre in Jena?

Konstantin: Naja, eigentlich schon, ja. Ein paar Monate in Eisenberg, in solch nem Wohnheim. Und dann eigentlich nach Jena.

I: Mit wem sind Sie denn gekommen nach Deutschland?

Konstantin: Mit zwei Geschwistern. Zwei Brüder hab ich noch.

I: Älter oder jünger?

Konstantin: Einer ist viereinhalb, und der andere ist größer.

I: Dann ist der Bruder hier geboren, der jüngste?

Konstantin: Nee, nee. Der is in Russland noch.

I: Der war dann aber ganz klein.

Konstantin: Der war ein paar Monate alt.

I: Und warum waren Sie von Kasachstan nach Russland, sind Sie Russen oder?

Konstantin: Nee, weil die ganzen Bekannten sind umgezogen und es war halt viel schlimmer geworden in Kasachstan, mit Geld und so, sind wir nach Russland umgezogen.

I: Und wie alt waren Sie, als Sie nach Russland umgezogen sind?

Konstantin: Ich glaub so mit acht Jahren, so, siebeneinhalb.

I: Und welche Sprache haben Sie damals zu Hause gesprochen?

Konstantin: Russisch.

I: Russisch? Sind noch andere Verwandte von Ihnen nach Deutschland gekommen?

Konstantin: Ja, klar. Die ganzen Geschwister von meiner Mutter, das sind drei Schwestern. Die Kinder, die sind auch alle in Deutschland und wohnen auch mit ihren Eltern hier.

I: Sind Sie gleichzeitig gekommen?

Konstantin: Nee, die sind n paar Jahre früher hergekommen.

I: Und sind die auch in Jena, oder wo sind die?

Konstantin: Nein, die sind in Gera.

I: In Gera, also in der Nähe. Und, jetzt, Sie waren zwölf, als Sie nach Deutschland gekommen sind.

Konstantin: Ja.

I: Was wussten Sie denn über Deutschland, als Sie...

Konstantin: Eigentlich überhaupt nichts.

I: Hatten Ihre Eltern oder Großeltern mal was erzählt oder...

Konstantin: Naja, die haben schon erzählt, dass es hier eigentlich ein bisschen besser ist. Ich hab mich eigentlich gefreut, dass wir hierher gezogen sind.

I: Wollten Sie herkommen?

Konstantin: Ja.

I: Sind Sie gefragt worden, ob Sie herkommen wollen?

Konstantin: Nee, eigentlich nicht.

I: Sondern, da stand eines Tages jemand und hat gesagt...

Konstantin: Ja, weil, schon alles sind da wieder, also, sind zusammen nach Russland umgezogen, und sie sind dann nach Deutschland.

I: Die Verwandten?

Konstantin: Ja. Wir sind dann, ein paar Jahre später, auch dann hierher.

I: Und Sie haben sich gefreut.

Konstantin: Ja.

I: Und wie war das dann, als Sie hier in Deutschland ankamen? Sprachen Sie schon ein bisschen Deutsch?

Konstantin: Nee. Ich konnte nur „ja“ und „nein“ und das wars. Na, wir sind in so'n Heim gezogen, wo alle Aussiedler sind. Und halt, das war einfach, da haben alle Russisch gesprochen. Gleich Freunde gehabt und so, und dann die Schule, wir sind erstmal einen Monat nur zum Deutschunterricht gegangen, und dann in die Klassen.

I: Gleich in die deutschen Schulen?

Konstantin: Ja.

I: Die wievielte Klasse war das?

Konstantin: Ich bin in die fünfte gegangen. In Russland hab ich fast sechste abgeschlossen. Das, also, im Winter. Dann nach Deutschland gekommen, fünfte jetzt, zu Ende gemacht.

I: Also ein Jahr zurück.

Konstantin: Ja, das war eigentlich nur ein paar Monate. Sommerferien dann. Dann bin ich nochmal von Anfang in die fünfte, jetzt bin ich in der [?]. Also, eigentlich zwei Klassen zurück gestellt.

I: Das heißt, Sie sind auch älter als die Klassenkameraden.

Konstantin: Ja, ich bin, na, das gibt jetzt schon auch übrige, die auch grad gekommen sind, sind auch so alt wie ich.

I: Also, wie ist das Gefühl, so in der Klasse zu sein und...

Konstantin: Na, geht so. Na, ich kenn da fast alle, alle gute Freunde und so. Sitzen immer draußen zusammen, treffen uns auf der Straße, grüssen uns. Eigentlich kein Problem.

I: Also kein Problem, dass Sie älter sind.

Konstantin: Vielleicht n paar Leute, die was dagegen haben, aber die...

I: Die was dagegen haben, dass Sie älter sind?

Konstantin: Nee, die regen sich auf, wenn wir uns manchmal Russisch unterhalten. Aber was soll ich machen, die Lehrerin hat gesagt, dass ich Dolmetscher machen soll für die anderen. Die sind grad sechs Monate in Deutschland und ich mach das halt und dann sag ich denen, na, halt, wenn's dir nicht gefällt, dann geh in ne andere Klasse. Ich soll ja das machen, und ich mach das. Die Lehrerin hat auch nichts dagegen. Auf die nehmen wir keine Achtung. Achten nicht mehr drauf.

I: Was die anderen sagen?

Konstantin: Ja.

I: Sind das die Deutschen, die sich da beschweren?

Konstantin: Ja.

I: Weil sie nichts verstehen? Was denken Sie, warum beschweren die sich?

Konstantin: Keine Ahnung. Andere wollen das auch lernen und manche beschweren sich. Manchen gefällt das, die Sprache zu hören. Das ist immer unterschiedlich.

I: Was würden Sie denn, was, was ist denn Ihre Muttersprache?

Konstantin: Muttersprache, also, eigentlich Russisch.

I: Können Sie das auch noch lesen und schreiben?

Konstantin: Ja, ich sprech noch voll.

I: Und lesen und schreiben auch?

Konstantin: Lesen und schreiben, und, ja, alles noch.

I: Welche Sprache sprechen Sie zu Hause?

Konstantin: Russisch. Mit Deutsch gemischt. Wort so, Wort so.

I: Wort so, Wort so- nicht einen Satz so, einen Satz so?

Konstantin: Ja, also, manche Wörter jetzt sind einfacher auf Deutsch zu sagen als auf Russisch.

I: Welche Wörter zum Beispiel, würde Ihnen was einfallen?

Konstantin: Ja, zum Beispiel... ich weiß nicht, fällt mir grad nix ein. Es kommt halt jetzt von alleine, so, ein Wort dazwischen. Das, das klingt auch lustig. Alle Aussiedler, die jetzt hergekommen sind, sprechen so. Deutsch-Russisch zusammengemischt, das klingt halt komisch, das kommt von alleine dann halt einfach so.

I: Was sagen die in der Schule dazu?

Konstantin: Na, in der Schule sprechen ma halt Deutsch.

I: Und da darf nicht gemischt werden?

Konstantin: Nee.

I: Wenn ich Sie jetzt fragen würde, was ist denn typisch für nen Aussiedler, was würde Ihnen dazu einfallen?

Konstantin: [Überlegt]. Typisch. Weiß ich nicht.

I: Gibt's irgendwelche Unterschiede zwischen Deutschen und Aussiedlern- manche haben mir gesagt, die Kleidung ist unterschiedlich, Sie sagen jetzt, die Sprache ist ein bisschen unterschiedlich.

Konstantin: Ja, die Sprache und die Kleidung ja schon, aber sonst eigentlich nichts weiter.

I: Die Kleidung ist unterschiedlich?

Konstantin: Naja, jeder hat seinen eigenen Stil und die Mode n bisschen anders wenn hierher kommen, aber, andere Sachen halt noch. Also. Aber dann kommt auch mit der Zeit dass die auch so, also, deutsche Mode reinkommen und so. Sich auch so ankleiden.

I: Ich hab mal mit jemandem gesprochen, einem Aussiedler, der hat gesagt, er kann andere Aussiedler auf der Straße erkennen. Das könne man einfach sehen. Würden Sie sagen, das stimmt?

Konstantin: Ja, das stimmt schon. Manche erkenne ich auch mehr schon vom Aussehen her so.

I: Ja? Woran würden Sie das erkennen?

Konstantin: Weil, ich weiß nicht, am, am Gesicht so, das, keine Ahnung.

I: Gibt's so n typischen Gesichtsausdruck, oder...

Konstantin: Ja, ja. Das erkennt man halt.

I: Gilt das für Männer und Frauen, für Alte und für Junge, oder gilt das für irgendjemand besonderes?

Konstantin: Na, so, eigentlich so jugendlichen Mann so. Von fünfzehn bis zwanzig.

I: Da erkennt man das?

Konstantin: Ja. Die kann man auch so sehen, so. An, an Kleidung und so und.

I: Bei Mädchen und bei Jungs?

Konstantin: Nee, nur bei Jungs.

I: Nur bei Jungs?

Konstantin: Ja.

I: Können Sie das mal beschreiben, wie, wie sich das unterscheiden würde?

Konstantin: Na, ich weiß nicht. Das ist halt so, wenn man sieht, dann [lacht] glaubt man, dass das auch ein Aussiedler ist weil, das ist, naja, ich weiß nicht. Naja, so. Immer da, gleicher Stil und so.

I: Also, er hatte das auch gesagt, deswegen frage ich. Ich würde das nicht sehen.

Konstantin: [lacht].

I: Und sowas wo man sagen würde, das ist typisch für nen Deutschen, würde Ihnen da was einfallen?

Konstantin: Nee, da eigentlich nicht. Nur solche, solche, die tragen ja andere Klamotten und so. Aber sonst.

I: In dem Fragebogen gab es so ne Frage „ich sehe mich selbst Aussiedler“ und dann sollte man das ankreuzen von eins bis sechs. Wenn ich Sie jetzt fragen würde, sind Sie ein Aussiedler, was würden Sie da sagen ?

Konstantin: Naja, eigentlich schon. Meine Oma ist Deutsche, meine Mutter halb Deutsche halb Russisch. Sind wir im Zweiten Weltkrieg nach Russland gezogen, und dann wieder hierher jetzt. Also, eigentlich bin ich ein Mischling [lacht].

I: Ein Mischling zwischen?

Konstantin: Russe und Deutscher.

I: Russisch und Deutsch. Und Aussiedler, was bedeutet das für Sie, also jetzt im Vergleich zu Russe oder im Vergleich zu Deutscher oder würden Sie sagen, dass trifft eigentlich-eigentlich bin ich Deutsch, Russisch und Aussiedler?

Konstantin: Ja, das, eigentlich, das ist so [?]

I: Benutzen Sie den Begriff?

Konstantin: Eigentlich kaum.

I: Also wenn Sie jemand fragt, dann sagen Sie ich bin gemischt.

Konstantin: Dann sag ich einfach, ich hab keine Probleme damit.

I: Und, und zu wie viel sind Sie Deutsch und zu wie viel sind Sie Russisch?

Konstantin: Na, fifty-fifty, so. Vom, mein Vater ist ja Russe und meine Mutter, so, Deutsch-Russin, so. Die ist eigentlich auch so fast Deutsch. Also, ganz eigentlich. Die hat auch, ihre Eltern sind Deutsch, die ham, wo sie nach Russland gezogen sind haben die nur, also, die

Vorfahren, haben nur Deutsch gesprochen und dann kams mit der Zeit, dass sie auch Russisch gelernt haben.

I: Das heißt, Ihre Mutter konnte Deutsch?

Konstantin: Ja, meine Mutter konnte schon gut Deutsch, als wir nach Deutschland gezogen sind.

I: Hat sie Ihnen geholfen am Anfang?

Konstantin: Naja, bei Hausaufgaben machen und so hat sie n bisschen. Übersetzen und so, geholfen.

I: Und Ihr Vater?

Konstantin: Mein Vater, der konnte noch weniger als ich [lacht].

I: Und jetzt?

Konstantin: Immer noch.

I: Immer noch?

Konstantin: Naja, die haben jetzt hier so einen Laden aufgemacht, in der Zwätzengasse 6, und da arbeitet er halt.

I: Was für einen Laden?

Konstantin: Russische Laden.

I: Ein russischer Laden? Und was verkaufen die?

Konstantin: So Burog, so Teig mit Fleisch und so Kraut.

I: Ach ja?

Konstantin: Ja, die verkaufen da alles mögliche. Bonbons und so.

I: Und läuft das gut?

Konstantin: Ja, das läuft glaub ich ganz gut.

I: Da sollte ich mal vorbei gehen!

Konstantin: [lacht] Ja, in der Zwätzengasse 6.

I: Und Ihre Eltern haben das zusammen gemacht?

Konstantin: Ja.

I: Arbeiten Sie da auch manchmal?

Konstantin: Nee. Da gibts fast nichts zu tun, das ist so n kleiner Raum und so. Ansonsten. Deswegen kann mein Vater nicht so gut Deutsch. Der hat ein paar Mal hier probiert, Praktikum zu machen und es hat ihm nicht gefallen, ja, und da haben sie sich entschieden und haben so Laden aufgemacht.

I: Was haben sie denn in Russland gemacht?

Konstantin: In Russland, da hat er so was Ähnliches wie Hausmeister gemacht, also, ja, so. Der hat so, zum Beispiel, wenn jemand ihn beauftragt hat, Häuser [?] und der hat mal n bisschen Elektriker gemacht. Meine Mutter war Lehrerin, Chemie und Bio.

I: Und was macht sie jetzt- diesen Laden.

Konstantin: Ja.

I: Hat als Lehrerin hier nicht gearbeitet?

Konstantin: Nee, wollte sie nicht mehr. Wie die alles gehört hat wie's hier abläuft da hat sie keine Lust.

I: Ich frag nochmal mit diesem fifty-fifty-Gemisch. Wenn ich vor nem Jahr gekommen wär und Sie das gefragt hätte, was denken Sie, was hätten Sie gesagt?

Konstantin: Na, ich hätte da gesagt, dass ich noch Russe bin. Weil, ich konnte ja nicht so gut Deutsch und hab ich mich nicht so zu Deutschen angeschlossen [lacht].

I: Und wie kam das, dass Sie jetzt sagen- ok, das heißt, Sie sind gewandert von ich sehe mich als Russe zu ich sehe mich halb-halb. Wodurch ist das gekommen? Sie sagen, dass Sie jetzt eben Deutsch sprechen?

Konstantin: Naja, bisschen älter geworden und dann, also, Erfahrung von den Eltern und dass ich nicht ganz Russe bin sondern Deutsch-Russe. Das... von den Eltern erfahren. Ich dachte, ich bin eigentlich Russe, und, ich wusste das nicht. Es hat mich nicht interessiert früher. Es war mir egal [lacht].

I: Und jetzt sind Sie in welcher Klasse?

Konstantin: Neunte.

I: Wie lang wollen Sie in der Schule bleiben?

Konstantin: Na, noch zwei Klassen. Bis zur zehnten, ich bin jetzt Realschule und danach vielleicht noch- in Göschwitz ist auch so ne Schule, vielleicht noch Abitur. Für Mechatronic.

I: Für was?

Konstantin: Das hat was mit Computerchips zu tun und so.

I: Dafür braucht man Abitur?

Konstantin: Ja, das ist halt mehr, nicht Abitur, so ne Ausbildung, so, ja, Lehre. Oder Informatiker halt.

I: Für Informatiker bräuchten Sie aber das Abitur?

Konstantin: Das weiß ich noch nicht genau, nein. Mit Realschule macht mein Cousin das, also. Ich brauch nur gute Mathe und gute Physik-Kenntnisse.

I: Und die haben Sie?

Konstantin: Mathe schon, aber Physik hab ich so kleine Schwierigkeiten. Ja [lacht].

I: Und wenn ich jetzt kommen würde, zum Beispiel, wenn Sie mit der Schule fertig sind, also in zwei Jahren, und Sie dann nochmal fragen würde, was glauben Sie, wie Sie sich dann sehen?

Konstantin: Na, das weiß ich noch nicht. Genauso wie jetzt.

I: Halb-halb.

K: Ich glaub nicht, dass ich mich verändere. Weil, ich hab auch Freunde, auch deutsche und russische Freunde, da sprechen ma auch Deutsch und Russisch.

I: Sie haben russische und deutsche Freunde?

Konstantin: Ja.

I: Sind das Russen oder sind das Aussiedler so wie Sie?

Konstantin: Aussiedler, so wie ich.

I: Und würden Sie sagen, Sie haben gleich viele deutsche und russische Freunde?

Konstantin: Ja.

I: Woher kennen Sie die?

Konstantin: Na, vom, aus der Schule her, vom Fußball und so, Diskos kennt man auch, kennen gelernt. Und sonst durch andere Leute, durch andere Kumpels, die haben auch deutsche Freunde, so.

I: Haben Sie einen besten Freund?

Konstantin: Ja [zögerlich].

I: Mehrere- oder nicht so richtig?

Konstantin: Nicht so richtig. Eigentlich sind die für mich alle gleich.

I: Und unternehmen Sie gemeinsam was, also, in der Gruppe?

Konstantin: Ja, jeden Wochenende, das sind einige russische Jungs und Mädels, einige deutsche Mädels und Jungs, alle zusammen.

I: Was machen Sie dann so?

Konstantin: Na, zum Beispiel wenn jemand ne Geburtstagsparty macht, oder, zum Beispiel zum Grillen, so. Die ham auch nix dagegen wenn wir da, vielleicht, Gitarre mitnehmen, da spielen ma Russisch und spielen mal auch Deutsch und dann...

I: Spielen Sie auch Gitarre?

Konstantin: Ja. Bisschen. Seit sechs Monaten.

I: Und was für Lieder spielen Sie, deutsche oder russische?

Konstantin: Russische.

I: Auch Deutsche?

Konstantin: Nö, deutsche nicht.. Auch englische.

I: Also Englisch und Russisch.

Konstantin: Ja.

I: Haben Sie Englisch in der Schule?

Konstantin: Ja, aber... bin nicht so gut.

I: Woran liegt das?

Konstantin: Naja, weil... Jetzt wirds ja n bisschen besser. Wo ich nach Deutschland gekommen bin, da konnt ich ja noch nicht richtig Deutsch und da bin ich gleich zu Englisch gegangen. Das war für mich eigentlich schwer die ersten zwei Jahre. Ich hatte erst letztes Jahr so gute Deutschkenntnisse und kam mit Englisch bisschen besser. Jetzt steh ich auf ner drei.

I: Und gibt es irgendwas wo Sie sagen, das unternehmen Sie lieber mit Ihren Aussiedlerfreunden oder das unternehmen Sie lieber mit Ihren deutschen Freunden?

Konstantin: Eigentlich kaum.

I: Das ist genau dasselbe?

Konstantin: Das ist dasselbe für mich.

I: Wohnen Sie denn auch alle in der, in derselben Gegend?

Konstantin: Ja. In Lobeda West.

I: So dass Sie sich gut treffen können.

Konstantin: Ja, das sind, die wissen schon, wo wir uns versammeln, die Deutschen und die Russen, die kommen dann einfach auch dazu, und keiner hat was dagegen.

I: Manchmal hört man ja, dass es so Probleme gibt, so wie Sie sagen, dass in der Schule da welche sind, die das blöd finden, wenn Sie da übersetzen.

Konstantin: Ja, man achtet da einfach nicht drauf. Das [lacht], lässt sie einfach in Ruhe und das wars.

I: Also, es gibt ein paar, mit denen Sie sich nicht verstehen, aber das ist...

Konstantin: Nee, ich unterhalt mich auch nicht mit denen.

I: Kennen Sie die, die da so komisch sind?

Konstantin: Naja, aus der Schule n paar Leute, aber mit denen unterhalten wir uns kaum. Es ist eigentlich egal. Die können sagen, was sie wollen, und gut. Also [lacht], das ist eigentlich nichts so richtig.

I: Ich würde nochmal fragen, Sie haben vorhin gesagt, in Ihrer Gruppe, da treffen Sie sich mit Deutschen und mit Aussiedlern und mit Mädchen und mit Jungs, wie ist das mit Beziehungen?

Konstantin: Naja, ich hatte vor drei Jahren eine Beziehung mit einem russischen Mädels. Und jetzt, also, war ich fast drei Monate mit einem deutschen zusammen. Das war eigentlich gleich. Also, keine Unterschiede.

I: Sie können sich das beides vorstellen?

Konstantin: Ja. Das ist kein Problem.

I: Und später mal, heiraten?

Konstantin: Darüber hab ich noch gar nicht nachgedacht. Nee. Zu jung.

I: Aber das wär dann auch egal, oder?

Konstantin: Ja, eigentlich schon.

I: Was denken Sie, was Ihre Eltern sagen würden- oder, was haben Ihre Eltern jetzt gesagt?

Konstantin: Meinen Eltern ist das egal. Die haben gesagt, wenn dir das Mädchen gefällt, dann bring sie mit. Sonst. Die haben sich auch gefreut, sie kennen zu lernen und ihre Eltern und so.

I: Wenn Sie Ihre Lehre machen, also Informatik oder dieses andere- wie hieß das?

Konstantin: Mechatronic.

I: Mechatronic. Möchten Sie dann in Jena bleiben?

Konstantin: Na, ich weiß nicht, wie das mit dem Ausbildungsplatz ist. Weil, alle, die, die nach Gera oder Berlin, da gibts mehr Chancen.

I: Würden Sie das auch machen, dahin umziehen?

Konstantin: Ich weiß nicht.

I: Gefällt es Ihnen hier?

Konstantin: Ja, eigentlich ganz gut. Viel besser als in Russland. Also, vor vier Jahren. Wo wir grad nach Russland gezogen sind, da wars auch super. Ab dann wars nur halt, alle sind nach Deutschland und meine Kumpels und so. Fast, fast alle sind dann langsam umgezogen und dann, nur Kasachen da gewesen, und dann, langweilig gewesen.

I: Haben Sie noch Kontakt zu den Freunden von damals?

Konstantin: Ja, paar sind auch in Jena. Und ein, mein besten Kumpel, den hab ich seit acht Jahren nicht mehr gesehen. Der ist dann von Kasachstan nach Deutschland umgezogen, wir sind nach Russland. Dann sind vier Jahre vergangen, sind wir auch nach Deutschland. Und jetzt, vier Jahre rum, ich habe ihn nie wieder gesehen.

I: Wo wohnt der jetzt?

Konstantin: Ich weiß es nicht.

I: Können Sie sich vorstellen, mal zurück zu gehen nach Russland?

Konstantin: Naja, zu Besuch so, aber nicht leben. So wie Urlaub.

I: Waren Sie schon mal wieder da?

Konstantin: Ja. Vor zwei Jahren war das.

I: Mit der ganzen Familie? Mit den Eltern, mit den beiden Brüdern?

Konstantin: Ja.

I: Und wie war das?

Konstantin: Na, eigentlich ganz gut. Wieder Oma gesehen und so. Die ist ja jetzt bei uns. Die hat uns jetzt zwei Jahre nicht gesehen, und jetzt am Sonntag ist sie zu uns gekommen.

I: Jetzt Sonntag?

Konstantin: Ja, zu Besuch. Und dann fährt sie wieder zurück.

I: Und wie lang waren Sie zu Besuch?

Konstantin: Wir waren fast die ganzen Sommerferien. Die sind hier ja auch ganz kurz. In Russland sind sie drei Monate.

I: Und hier sind sie sechs Wochen, oder. Das ist schon n Unterschied.

Konstantin: Ja.

I: Also gibt es Sachen, die besser sind in Russland...

Konstantin: Ja, aber wenn man niemanden mehr kennt da ist auch langweilig.

I: Letzte Frage die ich hab, die ist ein bisschen schwieriger. Wenn Sie- Sie wohnen in Lobeda West?

Konstantin: Ja.

I: Gibt es irgendetwas wo Sie sagen, das wäre gut wenn man das gehabt hätte als Sie nach Deutschland gekommen sind- also, Sie dolmetschen jetzt für Klassenkameraden zum Beispiel. Gibt es irgendetwas wo Sie sagen, das hätte ich noch gebraucht, dann wäre mein Umzug hierher leichter gewesen. Oder haben Sie irgendwelche Ideen für die, die jetzt kommen, was man denen anbieten sollte?

Konstantin: Ja, anbieten, na, ein bisschen mehr in der Schule so, Deutschunterricht. Wir hatten ja nur drei Mal in die Woche. Bisschen mehr, das wäre schon besser.

I: Zum Beispiel, wie viel?

Konstantin: Na so jeden Tag, einmal pro Tag ne Stunde, das würde schon gut sein. Weil sonst, die kommen in die Klasse, verstehen nichts, sitzen einfach nur die Zeit ab. Die werden auch nicht benotet, und das ist, eigentlich, ich weiß nicht. Na, das mit Umstufen, also, Klassen, das ist ja schon besser. Wäre ich nicht zwei Klassen zurückgestuft, hätte ich jetzt Schule schon beendet, hätte Hauptabschluss und das hätte mir nix gebracht.

I: Also das war gut, dass Sie...

Konstantin: Naja, ich bin zwei Klassen zurück und jetzt mach ich Real. Also, das ist schon besser.

I: Ist da irgendwas wo Sie sagen, das fehlt mir oder das find ich gut, das find ich nicht gut?

Konstantin: Nee, also eigentlich fehlt mir nichts. Meine Eltern verdienen auch eigentlich so viel, da reicht eigentlich. Und ich krieg auch Geld, ich trag auch Zeitung aus und verdien selber Geld.

I: Das ist doch so früh morgens, oder nicht?

Konstantin: Nee, ich kann das Samstag von, also, zwölf Uhr abends bis zwölf Uhr abends machen. Beginnt so Freitag zwölf Uhr, den ganzen Tag hab ich dafür Zeit. Ich brauch dafür nur eine Stunde. Und ich krieg so pro Monat vierzig Euro. Das reicht mir eigentlich. Für Spass haben und so. Ja.

I: Schön, dann bin ich fertig!